THE

HISTORY

OF

HENRI DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE,

Viſcount de TURENNE,

Marſhal-General of FRANCE.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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MDCCXXXV.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE

Prince of TURENNE.

THO' you are at this age too young to know all the merit of a Great-Unkle, with whoſe Hiſtory I here preſent you; yet in proportion as your underſtanding opens, and your heart becomes ſuſceptible of the impreſſions proper to form it, you will in the actions of *his* Life diſcover the principles which ought to guide you, and the virtues which ought to animate you throughout the courſe of *yours*.

The Viſcount de Turenne from his tender years ſhewed a great command of his paſſions; an uncommon candor in owning his faults, and a no leſs uncommon reſolution in correcting them; a predominant love of truth; a bene-

volence that was full of nobleneſs; a generous compaſſion for the unfortunate; and all the ſentiments worthy of his birth.

When he began his apprenticeſhip to the profeſſion of Arms under his unkle Prince Maurice, his earneſt deſire of improvement in the military Art made him ſeek dangers, and inure himſelf to hardſhips. He put queſtions to his ſeniors with reſpect, and by his deference to their judgment engaged them to communicate to him what they knew. Far from ſhocking the ſelf-love of his rivals, he by his modeſty drew them to intereſt themſelves in his ſucceſs. He gained the univerſal affection of the ſoldiers, and was often known to refuſe himſelf neceſſaries that he might relieve them in their diſtreſs.

At the age of 32 he was raiſed to the command of the Army, and ſhewed himſelf no leſs qualified to guide the State by his Councils, than to defend it by his Valour. Humanity, diſintereſtedneſs and a noble ſimplicity accompanied him in his victories: Religion purified and perfected all his Virtues; in a word he merited the Elogium of having been THE * SUP-

* Words of the Queen-mother Anne of Auſtria.

PORT

PORT OF THE THRONE, *the Father of his Soldiers, the Delight of his Countrymen,* and † AN HONOUR TO HUMAN KIND.

ONLY HOPE OF AN ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE, behold here your model: read this work inceſſantly; and whenever you are going to commit any of thoſe faults that are but too common with youth, aſk yourſelf, *Would Turenne have done this?* Haſten to get out of the ſtate of childhood, and ſhew betimes, that you will one day be worthy of the Heroes whoſe blood flows in your veins: they call upon you to tread in their ſteps, and I already perceive that you will hearken to their admonition: it is by this alone that you can recompenſe the aſſiduity, the zeal, and the extreme tenderneſs of a faithful ſervant who has devoted himſelf to the care of your education.

DE RAMSAY.

† Words of Montecuculli.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Author of this Hiſtory has been ſo happy as to find materials for it of indiſputable authority.

I. *THE Memoirs of the Viſcount de Turenne, written with his own hand ten years before his death: they contain the Hiſtory of his campaigns from the year* 1643, *in which he was made Marſhal of France, to the Peace of the Pyrenees.*

II. *A great number of letters from the Viſcount to Queen Anne of Auſtria, Lewis the XIVth, the Prince of Condé, Cardinal Mazarin, and the Secretaries of State; to Kings, Electors, and other foreign Princes, and to his friends and relations; alſo ſeveral inſtructions which he drew up by the King's order, for the Ambaſſadors of France at Vienna, Madrid, London, the Hague, in Sweden and in Portugal. The Viſcount's Memoirs abovementioned and ſome of his Letters and Inſtructions, the originals of which are preſerved in his Family, are printed at the end of this work.*

III. *The Memoirs of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. King of Great-Britain, who ſerved four years with the Viſcount during the Civil Wars, and two years with the Prince of Condé in the Spaniſh Army: both which great Generals admir'd the Duke's bravery and capacity. The night or next day after any action had happened, he wrote in his own tongue an account of what he had been witneſs of, and afterwards ſhewed it to the General. The original manuſcript was depoſited in the Scots College at Paris. In* 1696. *King James cauſed that part of his Memoirs which regarded the Viſcount de Turenne to be tranſlated into French, and gave it to the late Cardinal de Bouillon: eight years after, the Queen his Conſort ſent that Cardinal another tranſlation of the ſame Memoirs, ſigned with her own hand, ſealed with her broad ſeal, and counter ſigned by my Lord Caryll Secretary of State.*

IV. *The Manuſcript memoirs of Fremont d'Ablancourt: The Viſcount, in whoſe intereſt he was, and who had employed him in the negotiations with Portugal and Germa-*

ny;

ny, had often entertained him with the particulars of his education, his youth and his apprenticeſhip in the art of war: and 'tis from him chiefly that we have taken what relates to the firſt years of the Viſcount's life.

V. *The Memoirs of Langlade Secretary to Frederic Maurice Duke of Bouillon, the Viſcount de Turenne's brother. Langlade is the leſs to be ſuſpected in what he ſays to the Viſcount's advantage, as he complains of him for having ſtood in the way of his advancement. The King intending to ſend Langlade on an embaſſy into foreign countries, aſked Marſhal Turenne's opinion of his capacity; the Marſhal ingenuouſly anſwered,* I love and eſteem him; but I think him better qualified for any other employment than that for which your Majeſty deſigns him.

VI. *Deſchamps's work: The Prince of Condé afterwards placed this Gentleman about his grandſon the Duke of Bourbon, becauſe he was an able Officer, and very capable to contribute to the education of that young Prince. Deſchamps ſerved under the Viſcount in his two* laſt campaigns, *of which he has wrote the Hiſtory; it was reviſed and approved by the Marſhal de Lorges the Viſcount's nephew. His ſtile is neither elegant nor correct; but he has there clearly ſet forth the conduct of the Generals.*

VII. *The manuſcript Hiſtory of the Abbot Raguenet: he wrote the Viſcount's Life by the order and under the inſpection of Cardinal de Bouillon, who had learnt ſeveral particulars from his Unkle's own mouth, or from authorities no leſs to be depended upon. The facts which the Abbot relates are true, the dates exact, and the narration clear, but he ſeems rather to have wrote a Journal than a Hiſtory.*

VIII. *The author has carefully read over moſt of the writers of any credit who have treated of the tranſactions and events of the Viſcount's time, ſuch as Puffendorf, Vittorio-Siri, Walkenier, Retz, Rochefoucault, Bardee, Monglat, General Morgan an Engliſhman, who has given a relation of the battle of Dunes, and ſeveral others whom 'tis needleſs to mention.*

IX. *As to the particulars of the laſt campaigns the Viſcount*

made,

made, the author has conſulted the Marquis d' Imecourt, Governor of Montmedi and Lieutenant-General in the King's Army, who was an eye-witneſs of moſt of the Viſcount's exploits after the war with Holland. The Marquis had often heard the Viſcount ſpeak of the reaſons of his military actions and deſigns: he was moreover for ſeveral years very intimate with the Marſhals de Duras and de Lorges and the principal Officers that were formed under the Viſcount.

In order to digeſt theſe materials into one connected Hiſtory, the author has intermixed political negotiations with military expeditions: he has endeavoured in ſeveral places to ſet forth the ſtate of Europe in general, that of France in particular, the intrigues of the Court, the intereſts of the Princes and the characters of the contemporary Generals, with a view to ſhew the origin of thoſe wars in which the Viſcount diſplayed his abilities. He has however taken care to keep the Viſcount always in ſight, to avoid every thing that has not ſome relation to the Hiſtory of his Life, and not to let the principal object be loſt in a multitude of epiſodical details.

When the author has wanted authentick Memoirs he has not taken the liberty to ſupply that defect by conjecture: he has always ſcrupulouſly preferred truth to probability, knowing that hiſtorians have not, like poets, a privilege of inventing in order to embelliſh. From the ſame regard to the Laws of Hiſtory, which no more permit to ſuppreſs what is true than to aſſert what is falſe, he has not diſſembled the Viſcount de Turenne's faults: too perfect a virtue ſeems inimitable; it diſcourages ſome, irritates others, and is ſuſpected by all, becauſe men, how great ſoever they be, have ſtill ſome mark upon them to ſhew that they are but men.

As the only end of this work is to tranſmit to poſterity the memory of a man, whoſe civil and military vertues will always ſerve as a model to good ſubjects and great Captains, the author has endeavoured to uſe a clear, natural and eaſy ſtile without aiming at ornaments which are never proper in Hiſtory, much leſs in the life of a man, the moſt diſtinguiſhing part of whoſe character was a noble ſimplicity.

THE

THE HISTORY OF HENRY DE LA TOUR, Viſcount de TURENNE.

BOOK I.

HENRY, Viſcount de Turenne, was born at Sedan the eleventh of September 1611, of Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne Duke of Bouillon, Sovereign of Sedan, and Elizabeth de Naſſau daughter to William de Naſſau, the firſt of that name, Prince of Orange, and Charlotte de Bourbon Montpenſier. The Viſcount de Turenne's birth.

The Duke of Bouillon, the Viſcount's father, was, according to all the hiſtorians of thoſe times, a man of diſtinguiſhed merit. He learnt the art of war in the midſt of the troubles with which France was agitated during the tempeſtuous reigns of Charles IX, and Henry III. Being from his tender years attach'd to the perſon of Henry IV, he became * *the Lieutenant, the Friend, and the Companion* of that Hero. He diſplay'd his military virtues againſt the Dukes of Guiſe, Mayenne and Parma, and all the Generals of the League. Henry the Great intruſted him with negotiations of the utmoſt importance in England, The character of the Duke of Bouillon the Viſcount's father.

* The words of Henry IV.

in the United Provinces, and at the Courts of the Princes of Germany. The Duke had a clear head, his deſigns were maſterly, he was fruitful in expedients, and ever intent upon his main point. He knew men, and was no leſs complaiſant in humouring, than ſkillful in diſcovering their taſtes and inclinations; he had the ſecret of managing their paſſions, and cou'd put in motion every ſpring of the human ſoul. The vivacity of his genius was temper'd by a ſolid judgment, which made him obſerve a due medium between a raſh precipitancy, and a too circumſpective ſlowneſs. Being bred up under the care of the Conſtable of Montmorency his mother's father, in an ignorance but too common at that time among the prime Nobility of France, he of his own accord applied himſelf to the ſtudy of mathematics, hiſtory, politics, morality, and all the ſciences which might equally qualify him for council, and for execution. His proficiency in thoſe ſciences contributed perhaps as much as his birth and valour towards placing him at the head of the Calviniſt party; an advantage of which nothing but religious prejudices could have made him ambitious, and which did him leſs honour than the character of *Father and Protector of Learning*, which he juſtly acquired by founding an Academy at Sedan. It is impoſſible to behold without regret the luſtre of ſo many noble qualities tarniſhed by politics, where the end was purſued without ſufficient ſcruple about the choice of the means.

The Viſcount's education.

* The Duke omitted nothing that was proper for the education of his ſons, Frederic Maurice Prince of Sedan, and the Viſcount de Turenne who was five years younger than the Prince. As the intimate union which always ſubſiſted between the two brothers had an influence upon the principal actions of the

* The hiſtorical facts of this book are taken from the Manuſcript memoirs of Fremont d'Ablancourt, the Memoirs of Langlade, Vittorio Siri, and Monglas, and from Puffendorf *de Rebus Suecicis*.

Viſ-

Viſcount's life, and the counſels and example of the one frequently determined the conduct of the other, it will be impoſſible to avoid ſometimes intermixing the hiſtory of the elder with that of the younger. They were both educated at Sedan in the Proteſtant Religion, and thoroughly inſtructed in its principles and tenets. The Prince of Sedan was placed under the tuition of the famous du Moulin a rigid Calviniſt, and the Viſcount under that of Daniel Tilenus, a Calviniſt too, but of the tolerating principle; and to this perhaps might be chiefly owing the delay of the Viſcount's converſion; becauſe of all the Proteſtant ſyſtems, that of toleration ſeems the leaſt unreaſonable. As ſoon as the elder brother's education was finiſhed he was ſent to Holland to learn the art of war under his uncle Prince Maurice, while the younger continued his ſtudies at Sedan.

The firſt proofs of the Viſcount's military diſpoſitions.

* The Viſcount de Turenne was in his infancy of a very tender conſtitution, and it continued weak till he was twelve years of age, which made his father often ſay, that he would never be able to bear the fatigues of war. To convince him of the contrary, the Viſcount took a reſolution, when he was but ten years old, of paſſing a winter's night on the rampart of Sedan. † The Chevalier de Vaſſignac, his Governor, having ſpent ſome time in queſt of him, found him aſleep on the carriage of a cannon. From that time he gave frequent indications of his extreme paſſion for war.

The Viſcount's ſtudies.

At his firſt entrance on his ſtudies he learnt with difficulty; and his ſlowneſs of parts being miſtaken for a want of application, brought upon him corrections which ſerved only to give him an equal averſion to his inſtructors, and their inſtructions. His father therefore took another courſe with him, he piqued

* See the Memoirs of Mr. de Langlade who had been Secretary to the Duke of Bouillon.

† He was great uncle to the Marquiſs d'Imecourt Lieutenant General in the French Troops.

him in point of honour, and made him ſenſible how unworthy it was of a man deſigned for a warrior, not to be able to conquer himſelf. A motive ſo noble proved much more forcible than ſeverity: The young Viſcount applied himſelf to ſtudy out of a mere principle of magnanimity, and by degrees reconciled his affections to it ſo happily, that he remember'd ſome of the moſt beautiful paſſages of the Latin and French Poets even at an advanced age.

An. 1623. His love for the character of Alexander the Great.

*In his youth he was very fond of reading hiſtory, and eſpecially the lives of ſuch great men as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by military virtues and accompliſhments: He was mightily taken with the character of Alexander the Great; the genius of that Conqueror ſuited the taſte of the young Viſcount, whoſe ambition would probably have puſht him on to the moſt glorious enterprizes, had he lived in thoſe times when valour alone authorized men to diſturb the peace of the univerſe. He took a ſingular pleaſure in reading Quintus Curtius, and in relating to others the heroic actions he found in that author: On theſe occaſions his whole geſture became more animated than uſual, his eyes ſparkled, and his imagination being heated got the better of the natural difficulty he had in ſpeaking. An officer one day took the liberty to tell him, that his favourite hiſtorian was no better than a writer of romances; which touched the young Viſcount to the quick. The Ducheſs of Bouillon made a ſign to the officer to perſiſt; the diſpute grew warm, the boy fell into a paſſion, left the company abruptly, and privately ſent the officer a challenge, which he accepted in order to divert the Ducheſs, who was highly pleas'd to ſee thoſe early marks of courage in her ſon. The next day the Viſcount went out of town under pretence of hunting, and arriving at the place of ren-

* This paſſage is taken from the manuſcript Memoirs of Mr. de Fremont d'Ablancourt.

dezvous,

dezvous, he there found a table ready ſpread. As he was conſidering what this preparation could mean, the Ducheſs of Bouillon appear'd, accompanied by the officer, and told her ſon ſhe was come to be ſecond to the Gentleman, with whom he was to fight; the ſportſmen came up, breakfaſt was ſerved, peace concluded, and the duel changed into a hunting match. An. 1623.

The Viſcount learns his exerciſes.

He was not yet twelve years of age when his father died, after a life full of agitation, with a mixture of good and bad ſucceſs, but ſtill attended with glory. The young Viſcount's private education was continued under the care of the Ducheſs his mother for a whole year. It was during that time that he learnt his exerciſes, in which he ſucceeded better than in his ſtudies, and in leſs than a year was able to ride the moſt ungovernable horſes. The Count de Rouſſy, who was afterwards his brother-in-law, brought one to Sedan ſo vicious and fiery that no body would venture to mount him. The Viſcount animated by the example of Alexander, who about the ſame age broke his Bucephalus, reſolved to imitate him, and in ſpight of all the remonſtrances of his ſervants, terrified at the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, perſiſted in his reſolution, mounted the fiery horſe, managed him with addreſs, and broke him.

An. 1624.

The Viſcount's qualities in his youth.

But courage was not the only good quality he diſcover'd in his youth: from his earlieſt years he was remarkable for a diſcretion becoming a riper age; an invariable taſte for whatever was reaſonable; a great command of his paſſions, though of a lively temper and eaſily moved; a mildneſs and moderation that ſeem'd more the reſult of reflection, than the effect of conſtitution; a predominant love of truth, a natural abhorrence of lying, cunning and diſſimulation; and above all ſuch uncommon humanity, and charity, that he relieved ſeveral poor families in Sedan

An. 1624. with the money allow'd him for his pocket expences, and indulged himſelf in no ſuperfluities of dreſs, that he might be in a condition of aſſiſting thoſe who wanted neceſſaries.

His firſt journey into Holland.

He was ſcarce thirteen years old when the Ducheſs of Bouillon reſolved to ſend him into Holland, whither the Prince of Sedan his elder brother had been ſent before. Europe was at this time involv'd in blood and ſlaughter. It will be proper here to give a ſummary account of the origin of thoſe factions and civil wars wherein it had been a long time embroiled, that the reader may have a view of the theatre, on which the Viſcount is going to appear.

A general view of the ſituation of Europe and of the religious wars.

Superſtitious practices introduced in contempt of rules, the idle diſputes of ſome ſcholaſtics, and the corrupt morals of part of the Clergy, had been the chief ſources of all the ſcandals which prevail'd in the Church. Thoſe who had a mind to ſhake off its yoke, came gradually to confound the abuſes of religion with its principles, opinions with doctrines, and what was only tolerated with what was commanded. Obedience, the only means of uniting the multitude incapable of reaſoning, quickly became odious. The Proteſtants divided themſelves into two principal ſects, of which Luther and Calvin were the heads. The enthuſiaſts and unbelievers made ſeveral diviſions and ſubdiviſions, appealing from the tribunal of authority to that of private inſpiration, or preſumptuous reaſon. *From the ſchools the fire of diſcord ſpread quickly to the Courts of Princes; and every one eſpouſed that party which beſt ſuited with his genius, or politics. Intereſt, ambition, a love of independence, fondneſs of being at the head of a faction, brutal paſſions, and refined vices aſſumed the diſguiſe of religion, ſtirr'd up rebellion againſt the two powers eccleſiaſtical and ci-

* The hiſtory of the wars which preceded the peace of Weſtphalia, written by Fa. Bougeant of the ſociety of Jeſus.

vil,

vil, and every where produced great revolutions. Guſtavus Vaſa having ſnatched the Crown of Sweden from Chriſtiern II, and being incenſed at the avarice and ambition of the Archbiſhop of Upſal, embraced Lutheraniſm, while Frederic Duke of Holſtein, who had ſeized on Denmark and Norway, introduced the ſame ſect in thoſe Kingdoms. Henry VIII King of England hurried that Nation into a ſchiſm for the ſake of his amours, and to ſeize upon the exceſſive riches of the Clergy. The Scots forced Mary Stuart their Queen into baniſhment, and that unhappy Princeſs having been firſt the victim of her own weakneſs, became a martyr to her religion. During the minority of Henry the ſecond's children, Calviniſm involved France in all the horrors of civil war. The jealouſy which ſome of the Princes of Germany entertain'd of the houſe of Auſtria, occaſioned the Germanic body to divide it ſelf into two factions, the EVANGELICAL UNION and the CATHOLIC LEAGUE. Switzerland followed the example of Germany, tho' the manly ſimplicity and honeſt plain ſenſe of the Swiſs ought naturally to have ſecur'd them from thoſe exceſſes into which men are hurry'd by preſumption. The Proteſtants of Bohemia threw off the yoke of their lawful King Ferdinand the ſecond, and this war, by an inſenſible progreſs, put all Europe into a flame. The United Provinces, driven to deſpair by the inhumanity of the Duke of Alba, freed themſelves from the Spaniſh domination under the conduct of William Prince of Orange. All theſe calamities and revolutions were the fruits of a miſtaken zeal, the fatal effects of which were ſtill felt when the Viſcount de Turenne prepared to begin his apprenticeſhip in war. An. 1624.

The affairs of the Dutch were at this time in a much more flouriſhing condition than they had been under the great Prince William. They had for ſe- The ſtate of the affairs of Holland when the Viſcount wentthither.

An. 1624. veral years ſtruggled againſt the powerful Monarchy of Spain, were ſeldom victorious, and often driven to extremities. This war had already laſted near 60 years, and had coſt the King of Spain immenſe ſums, and almoſt a million of men. All Europe was in aſtoniſhment to ſee that great Monarch, with all the treaſures of the Indies, not able to reduce a petty Republic, which was ſo weak in its beginnings, that to repreſent its piteous condition, the Hollanders had ſtampt upon their money a ſhip in the midſt of a ſtormy ſea without ſails, without maſts, and juſt ready to periſh. The ſurpriſing exploits of Prince Maurice, the Viſcount's uncle by the mother, had reviv'd their courage and repaired their ſtrength. Tho' but 16 years old when firſt call'd to the command of the army, he had by this time eſtabliſh'd the Commonwealth upon a foot which made her reſpected by her neighbours, and fear'd by her enemies. He had forced the Spaniards to recognize Holland for a free and ſovereign State. He had made a truce with them for twelve years in 1609. This truce expiring in 1621, hoſtilities were then renewed, and the Spaniards deſpaired of ſucceſs in the war while that Hero liv'd. He was a Prince of admirable judgment, extraordinary valour and conſummate prudence. He had the talent of inſinuation, a majeſtic air, and all the qualities of a man born to be the founder of a Commonwealth, to diſcipline an army, and eſtabliſh civil polity among a people.

An. 1625. The Viſcount ſerves as a volunteer under his uncle Prince Maurice.

The Ducheſs of Bouillon, having learnt that Cardinal Richelieu had laid a deſign to compleat the deſtruction of the Huguenots, would not ſuffer her ſon the Viſcount de Turenne to ſerve in a war againſt thoſe of her own Religion. She ſent him into Holland towards the beginning of the year 1625. Prince Maurice his uncle received him with great kindneſs, and being deſirous thoroughly to know his

his character, diſcours'd with him often in private. The Viſcount had no natural eloquence, nor any thing outward that was very ſhining; but Prince Maurice quickly diſcover'd the qualities in which he excelled, and neglected nothing to unfold and improve them. This great General being perſuaded that there are an infinity of uſeful knowledges, which are only to be acquired by deſcending to the loweſt employments, and that the ſucceſs of the greateſt actions depends oftentimes upon ſuch minuteneſſes as cannot be known but by entring into all the detail of war, treated the Viſcount in the ſame manner that he had done the Prince of Sedan, and made him carry a muſket before he rais'd him to any poſt of command. The Viſcount ſerved at firſt as a volunteer, and ſhewed ſuch reſolution, patience, and application, as made his uncle conceive the greateſt hopes of him: But in three months after the Viſcount's arrival in Holland Prince * Maurice died. Henry Frederick his brother ſucceeded to his eſtate, to the government of the Provinces, and the command of the Army. As the Spaniards then redoubled their efforts to cruſh the Commonwealth, ſhe renewed her alliance offenſive and defenſive with France; and Cardinal Richelieu finding that he ſhould ſtand in need of the maritime forces of the Dutch to beſiege Rochelle, apply'd himſelf more than ever to cement the union between the King his Maſter and the United Provinces. An. 1625.

Prince Henry gave his nephew a company of foot, and the Viſcount diſcharged the duties of an officer with the ſame exactneſs that he had done thoſe of a private ſoldier: His company made the fineſt appearance and was the beſt diſciplin'd of any in the Army: Young as he was, he did not rely upon the care of a Lieutenant, but exercis'd the ſol- An. 1626. The Viſcount is made Captain of foot.

* He died the 23d of April 1625, at 58 years of age, according to Baillet, Hiſtoire de Hollande, Tome I. pag. 439.

diers

An. 1626. diers himſelf, forming them with patience, and correcting them with mildneſs; he ſtrictly requir'd of them not only a great exactneſs in the ſervice, but a perfect regularity of manners; he ingag'd them to obedience by kindneſs, and refus'd himſelf ſometimes even neceſſaries to give them proofs of his liberality; he treated the other ſoldiers with the ſame goodneſs, ſo that he gain'd the affections of all. Inuring himſelf to hardſhip, he could be content with little, and was thereby ſecure of being but ſeldom in want.

An. 1627. The Viſcount applies himſelf to learn the art of war.

The Viſcount ſerved in quality of Captain at the ſieges of Klundert, Williamſtadt and Groll, and in moſt of Prince Henry's expeditions againſt the famous Spaniſh General Spinola. He neglected no opportunity of getting inſtruction. You might ſee him continually with a meaſuring rod or a pencil in his hand; he examined and conſidered every thing that offer'd, and he made his remarks upon the anſwers he receiv'd from the officers, engineers, pioneers and even the meaneſt ſoldiers, to his queſti-

An. 1628. ons. Wholly intent upon his point, the deſire of learning made him deſpiſe all dangers, and he was very ſoon in a condition to give an exact account of all that paſt. Far from affecting to diſplay his talents with oſtentation, he ſought inſtruction from his ſeniors, putting queſtions to them with politeneſs, liſtening to their anſwers with viſible pleaſure, and by his docility engaging them to communicate to him what they knew. He thought much, talk'd little, and when any queſtion was aſked him, confin'd himſelf wholly to the anſwer, ſpeaking always with modeſty and diffidence. Having thus ſpent three years in the ſtudy of the military art, the ſiege of Bois-le-Duc furniſh'd him with opportunities of ſhewing in a more ſignal manner the progreſs he had made.

This

This place was of great importance: the Dutch exerted all their efforts to take it, and the Spaniards theirs to defend it. It was commonly called the* *Maid of Brabant*, becauſe it had never been taken, tho' ſeveral times beſieg'd. The waters which for two thirds of the year overflow'd the country all round it to a great diſtance, made it almoſt inacceſſible. It was encompaſs'd with a very thick wall ſtrengthned by ſeven great baſtions, and defended by broad and deep ditches. The four principal avenues were each of them guarded by a fort with baſtions, and upon the reſt were ſeveral ſmall forts or redoubts. Antoine Schetz Baron de Grobendonck Governor of the place was a man of conſummate ability and experience in war, but the garriſon conſiſted only of 2300 foot and 4 troops of horſe. The very firſt day of the ſiege he ſent away, with the permiſion of the Prince of Orange, all the women and children he could, and maintain'd by all his actions the high reputation he had acquir'd. He receiv'd an unexpected ſuccour of 800 men from the garriſon of Breda, who through almoſt impaſſable moraſſes and overflow'd grounds ſtole by night into Bois-le-Duc after it had been beſieg'd four days.

An. 1629. Siege of Bois-le-Duc.

* La pucella du Brabant.

The Prince of Orange had inveſted the place the laſt of April with an army of 30000 men, excluſive of a reinforcement of 6000 ſent him by the States. He ſpent ten days entire in ſecuring his camp by lines of circumvallation, with very broad and ſteep trenches fill'd with water by the overflowing of three ſmall rivers, which he had damm'd up to hinder their courſe thro' the town, and to make uſe of them for conveying into his camp the ammunition and proviſions brought him from the Meuſe by Creve-Cœur. Diverſe forts with baſtions at proper diſtances were rais'd by his orders; and the quarters were diſtributed for attacking the town and outworks at four different places.

April 30.

The

An. 1629. The Viſcount de Turenne had ſeen all theſe diſpoſitions, he had been witneſs of all the orders given, he obſerved when, how, and by whom they were executed, he looked narrowly into every thing that paſs'd. The day that he was commanded into the trenches was to him a day of repoſe rather than fatigue, becauſe thoſe who are upon this kind of ſervice are obliged to ſtay a long time in the ſame poſt. The third of June the Prince of Orange order'd the Viſcount to raiſe the battery of Four-and-twenty-pounders that made the firſt diſcharge. It was placed in the line of communication between the Engliſh and the French, who were making their approach on the ſide of fort Iſabel by the Prince of Orange's quarter. He was afterwards charg'd with the direction of different works, and order'd to force ſome poſts. Scarce had he perform'd theſe commiſſions, but he went to view the other attacks, where he examin'd how the ſapps, and the reſt of the operations were carried on, and what was the deſign of each of them. In a word he was every where, and it was hard to diſtinguiſh whether by order or as a volunteer. His Governor in vain endeavour'd to diſſuade him from expoſing his perſon when not obliged to it. The Viſcount was deaf to all he cou'd ſay upon this head; on other occaſions he reſpected him as a father. The Prince of Orange likewiſe thought it neceſſary to reprimand him for his exceſs of courage; yet while he reproved him he could not diſſemble his joy, and turning to the officers who were preſent, ſaid, *I am much miſtaken or this young man will one day equal the greateſt Captains.* Nevertheleſs to reſtrain the ardour of his nephew, he order'd him to keep for the future near his perſon. The very next day the Viſcount had a favourable opportunity of getting this order recall'd. He earneſtly requeſted and obtain'd leave to follow his brother the Prince of Sedan,

Sedan, now Duke of Bouillon. Prince Henry was ſending him with a detachment of Dutch troops to intercept four or five hundred men of the garriſon of Breda, who were coming to throw themſelves into Bois-le-Duc. The detachment marched and met the enemy: the action was briſk on both ſides, and the Spaniards were routed. The Viſcount who had fought near his brother, purſued the enemy ſo eagerly, as not to perceive that the victorious troops had halted. The Duke of Bouillon in perſon carried the news of the defeat of the Spaniards to the Prince of Orange, telling him at the ſame time that he knew not what was become of the Viſcount; immediate ſearch being made, they at length found him; he was returning with ſome horſe that had followed him, and, not without anxiety, enquiring news of his brother. As ſoon as his apprehenſions were removed, he went back to meet his Governor, who had been wounded near him, and whom he had quitted only to inform himſelf of the fate of the Duke of Bouillon. An. 1630.

Bois-le-Duc and ſeveral other places taken.

The Spaniards in the field flattering themſelves that they ſhould be able to make the enemy raiſe the ſiege, encouraged the garriſon to hope for ſpeedy ſuccour. And indeed the Marquis de Bergues who commanded the Spaniſh army appear'd with it before the entrenchments, but found them in ſuch good order that he durſt not attempt to force them; he retired, and the ſiege was continued with more vigour than before. The Governor having then no longer any hopes of being relieved, capitulated after a four months ſiege, and the Prince of Orange granted him all the honours that ſo brave a defence had deſerved. Sept. 14.

After the ſiege of Bois-le-Duc Prince Henry drove the Imperialiſts and Spaniards entirely out of the United Provinces, and then ſeized all the places they poſſeſſed upon the Lower Rhine. An. 1630.

The

An. 1630. The Viſcount ſerv'd five years in Holland, but the war in that country being confined wholly to ſieges, and not opening a field vaſt enough to his ambition of perfecting himſelf in the military art, he wiſhed earneſtly to return into France, and it was not long before the ſituation of the affairs of his family call'd him thither.

The Viſcount enters into the ſervice of France in quality of Colonel of foot.

Cardinal Richelieu having formed a deſign of forcing the Ducheſs of Bouillon to receive a French garriſon into Sedan, that Princeſs immediately recalled the Viſcount de Turenne from Holland, and ſent him into France as a hoſtage to prevent any meaſures being taken to the prejudice of her eldeſt ſon's Sovereignty. The young Viſcount coming to Court was received by the King and the Cardinal with all the marks of diſtinction due to his birth, and to the reputation he had acquired, which was already ſpread in France. Tho' he was then but nineteen years old, a regiment of foot was immediately given him. We don't find either in the printed memoirs, or in the manuſcripts preſerved by his family, any particular account of him from that time till the ſiege of la Motte, at which he ſerved four years after; but before we ſpeak of his ſervices in France, it will be proper to take a view of the ſtate of affairs in the Kingdom.

The ſtate of the Kingdom when the Viſcount enter'd the ſervice.

Lewis the XIIIth, then on the throne, ſhewed himſelf on all occaſions a Prince of great valour, and he was well ſkilled in the whole art of war. He had penetration enough to chooſe able Miniſters, and commonly regulated his actions by their councils. He had diſcerned the ſuperior genius of Cardinal Richelieu, a Man endowed with all the talents that could render him worthy of his Maſter's choice. This Miniſter was no ſooner at the helm of affairs, than he turned his thoughts to reduce the power of the Houſe of Auſtria both in the Empire and in Spain; to make arts and commerce flouriſh, and to enlarge

enlarge the bounds of the French Monarchy. Such was the Cardinal's plan, but he would engage in no enterprize abroad, till he had appeaſed the troubles at home. An. 1630.

When he enter'd upon the Adminiſtration, he found the Royal Authority weaken'd and divided. The Queen Mother Marie de Medicis, the Duke of Orleans the King's brother, the Princes of the blood, and the prime Nobility of the Kingdom all pretended to a ſhare in the Government: The Parliament likewiſe was for meddling with affairs of State, and the Calviniſts were contriving how to form an independent Commonwealth in the heart of France. All theſe malcontents held correſpondences with the neighbouring Princes, particularly with the Dukes of Savoy, Lorrain and Bouillon, who by the means of Pignerol, Nancy and Sedan afforded them ready and ſecure retreats. The Cardinal's firſt care was to find out proper means for remedying theſe evils; and he ſucceeded. As the dividing of the Sovereign Power had been the ſource of all the diſorders in the State, he was ſenſible that the only way to cure thoſe diſorders was by putting an end to that diviſion; and that there was no means to gain reſpect to authority, but by making it all center in the ſole perſon of the King. He began by deſtroying the power of the Huguenots. He beſieged Rochelle, took from them that place which was thought impregnable, ſeized on all their fortreſſes, and put an end to thoſe religious wars *, which had ſhaken the very foundations of the Monarchy †. He obliged the Queen Mother, who was mother-in-law to three Sovereigns, the King of Spain, the King of England, and the Duke of Savoy, to quit the Kingdom, and to lead an unſettled wandring life, not one of thoſe three Potentates daring to receive her into his Do-

* See Puffendorf, Hiſt. de l'Europe, Tom. II. p. 183.
† In 1631.

minions.

An. 1630. minions. He forced the Princes of the Blood to keep themſelves quiet, reſpect the Royal Authority, and be ſatisfy'd with their own demeſnes and dependencies, or to ſhare the fate of the unfortunate Marie de Medicis. He humbled the power of the Grandees, who were become unmanageable, were continually caballing againſt the Miniſter, and would not obey even the King himſelf, but while he left them in the exerciſe of an abſolute authority in their reſpective Governments; and laſtly he confined the juriſdiction of the Parliament of Paris within its due bounds.

Affairs were in this poſture when Cardinal Richelieu made the Ducheſs Dowager of Bouillon, the Viſcount de Turenne's mother *, ſign a treaty, by which ſhe engaged to continue firm to the intereſts of France, the King at the ſame time promiſing to protect the Houſe of Bouillon. He afterwards obliged † Victor Amadeus Duke of Savoy, by the treaty of Queraſque, to ſurrender Pignerol and its dependencies to the King, to be united for ever to the Crown of France: ‖ And he ſent an army into Lorrain to puniſh the levity of Charles the 4th, Sovereign of that State.

Lorrain inwaded.

This Prince was born with extraordinary talents; but his ſtrange unaccountable conduct render'd them all uſeleſs and even hurtful to his ſubjects. He had indeed prudently married his couſin the Princeſs Nicole, daughter to the late Duke, and by thus uniting all the rights to the Duchy of Lorrain, had prevented the difficulties that might have been ſtarted in regard to ſucceſſion. But as this match was formed only on political views, Charles's diſpoſition to gallantry, and his wife's jealous humour, ſoon occaſioned ſuch quarrels between them, as produced a ſeparation; and the Princeſs retired into France to implore the protection of Lewis XIII, which was granted. Charles on the other hand adhered to the Houſe of

* In the year 1630. † 1631. ‖ 1633.

Auſtria; and this attachment furniſh'd the Cardinal with a pretext to poſſeſs himſelf of Nancy, and afterwards of all Lorrain. An. 1633.

No place of any importance remain'd untaken, but the fortreſs of la Motte, ſituated on the top of a very high rock, ſo hard as to be almoſt proof againſt ſapping and undermining. The French laid ſiege to it in the beginning of March; their quarters were but a league or two from the place; the enemy were at the diſtance of above fifty. As ſoon as the Marſhal de la Force arrived before la Motte, he drew a line of circumvallation of about a league, raiſed ſeven batteries conſiſting all together of thirty cannon, and made diſpoſitions for four attacks. At the ſame time five mines were dug, though with much difficulty on account of the hardneſs of the rock. When the works were ſo far advanced as that the beſiegers cou'd batter a baſtion, the Marſhal order'd his ſon, the Marquis de Tonneins, upon that ſervice, who met with a warm reception, and was forced to retire. The next day the Viſcount de Turenne mounted the trenches with his Regiment, to attack the ſame baſtion; and his reputation engaged the attention of the army to the ſucceſs of that enterprize. The beſieged not only fired very briſkly, but likewiſe rolled ſtones of an enormous ſize from the top of the parapet, which falling on the points of the rock, broke into a thouſand pieces, and killed or diſabled thoſe who ventured to approach. The Viſcount marched to the breach through all theſe dangers, and his ſoldiers, encouraged by his example, ſeem'd to have forgot all fear. The Lorrainers, animated by the advantages they had gain'd the day before, fought with freſh ardour, and redoubled their efforts, but in vain; the Viſcount drove them from the baſtion, and made a lodgment upon it*. What was moſt remarkable An. 1634. The ſiege of la Motte; where the Viſcount was made Major General.

* Mem. de Buſſy Rabutin, Vol. I. p. 7.

An. 1634. at this ſiege was, that the Governor being killed, his brother, a Capuchin Friar, continued the defence of *July* 18. the place. It ſurrender'd, after a ſiege of five months; during which the Viſcount de Turenne ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf that the ſucceſs of the enterprize was thought to be chiefly owing to his valour and ſkill. He received compliments from the whole Army on this occaſion, and even from the Marquis de Tonneins, who wou'd have been jealous of a competitor leſs modeſt: but the Viſcount had nothing in his behaviour or diſcourſe that favour'd either of ſelf applauſe or a contempt for any one; he never ſhock'd the ſelf-love of others, becauſe he always forgot the intereſts of his own; and by this conduct he diſpos'd all who obſerv'd him to commend him equally for his courage and his modeſty. It was under theſe impreſſions that the Marſhal de la Force ſpoke of him in the relation he ſent to Court of the ſiege of la Motte; which engaged the Cardinal to raiſe the Viſcount to the rank of Major General at the age of twenty three, tho' this poſt was then the next in dignity to that of Marſhal of France, there being as yet no Lieutenant Generals in the French armies.

The Duke of Bouillon, brother to the Viſcount, quits the ſervice of Holland and becomes a Catholick.

About this time the Duke of Bouillon quitted the ſervice of Holland. The Prince of Orange being in an advanced age, and having but one ſon a child in the cradle, caſt his eyes on his nephew to be his ſucceſſor in the Government of the United Provinces, intending likewiſe to give him one of his daughters in marriage, the ſame that was afterwards married to the Elector of Brandenburg; but love oppoſed the Duke of Bouillon's fortune. In ſpight of his own ambition and his mother's remonſtrances he married Eleanor, Counteſs of Bergues * whoſe beauty, wit and virtue were no leſs illuſtrious than

* She deſcended from the antient Houſe of the Counts de Bergues in Gelderland.

her

her birth. He never repented of the ſacrifices he made to this Lady, but conſtantly preſerv'd all the eſteem and tenderneſs for her which the moſt amiable qualities, accompanied with exterior charms, can inſpire. The regularity of her conduct, her piety void of oſtentation, and free from all trifling devotions, diſpoſed the Duke of Bouillon to examine the doubts and difficulties her converſation had raiſed in his mind concerning Calviniſm. He ſoon perceived*, as he himſelf ſaid, "the abſurdity of a ſect, whoſe "fundamental principles, by deſtroying human li-"berty, do by natural conſequence make God "the author of evil." It was below a man of an elevated ſoul, like the Duke of Bouillon, to diſſemble his ſentiments: he declared them ſoon after the ſiege of Maeſtricht, and was reconciled to the Catholick Church. By this act he loſt his eſtabliſhment in Holland; and he reſolved to adhere to France, where he had an ample fortune. Towards the cloſe of this year he arrived at the Court of Lewis XIII, where he was well received by the King, the Princes of the Blood, and eſpecially by the Count de Soiſſons, who treated him with particular diſtinction, and expreſs'd a great deſire of making him his friend. The Cardinal likewiſe had ſeveral converſations with him, but it was eaſy to foreſee that the oppoſition of their characters would always prove an obſtacle to a cloſe union between them. The Republican principles which the Duke of Bouillon had imbibed in Holland, under his uncles, the Princes of Orange, did by no means fall in with the Cardinal's ſcheme of abſolute power. The Duke did not ſtay long at Court, he return'd to Sedan, without having any reaſon either to be much pleas'd with the Miniſter, or to complain of him.

An. 1634.

The Cardinal having ſecured the city of Sedan, diſpoſſeſſed the Duke of Lorrain of his dominions,

Cardinal de Richelieu's general plan.

* In a letter to his ſiſter.

An. 1634. obliged the Duke of Savoy to give up Pignerol, appeaſed the domeſtic troubles, and united the whole ſtrength of the Kingdom in one undivided ſupreme power, at length diſcover'd his grand project againſt the two branches of the Houſe of Auſtria, Spain and the Empire. To avoid frequent interruptions of the narration in the courſe of this Hiſtory, and ſhew the origin of the different wars, which led the Viſcount ſucceſſively into Flanders, Spain, Italy, and Germany, we ſhall here give an account of the ſituation of Europe, at the time of the rupture between the two Crowns of France and Spain, and endeavour to unfold the political intereſts of the ſeveral Potentates, who then declared for or againſt France; and particularly the motives to the long wars of Germany, that laſted till the peace of Munſter, to which the Viſcount contributed very much by the ſucceſs of his arms.

The ſtate of Spain. Philip IV was on the throne of Spain: the ſtrength of that Kingdom was diminiſhed ſince the demiſe of Charles V, who had himſelf given the firſt blow to the power of his family, by dividing the Empire from Spain, and reſigning the Provinces of Germany to his brother Ferdinand. The ſettling of Colonies in the Indies, the long wars maintain'd in the Low Countries, the ſuccours ſent to the Leaguers in France, the loſs of the Fleet deſign'd againſt England, the baniſhment of the Moors under Philip the III, in 1609, all theſe had, in the ſpace of ſeventy years, exhauſted Spain of men and money. She nevertheleſs appear'd ſtill a formidable Power in the eyes of all Europe. She was not only miſtreſs of the whole Country beyond the Pyrenees, but extended her authority over a great part of Italy, where ſhe poſſeſſed the Kingdom of Naples and the Milaneſe: She reckon'd Sicily and Sardinia among her Provinces: Portugal then belong'd to her: Rouſſillon and Franche-Comté were

parts

parts of her dominion; and the Hollanders, maſters only of the ſeven United Provinces, had left her the other ten; ſo that France was, in a manner, block'd up and ſtreighten'd on all ſides by the King of Spain's dominions. Beſides the two Indies, where Philip IV poſſeſs'd immenſe countries, he had a great number of ſtrong places on the coaſts of Africa, which kept the Kings of Barbary in awe. A large fleet of galeons join'd the two Indies to Spain by means of the Ocean; and ſeveral ſquadrons of galleys on the Mediterranean maintain'd a communication between that Kingdom and Italy. Cardinal Richelieu was not dazzled with all this ſplendor: through the appearance of ſo great a ſtrength, he diſcern'd the real weakneſs of Spain, and perceived that ſhe had no longer any thing to ſupport her but the reputation ſhe had formerly acquired. He could not, however, declare war againſt the Houſe of Auſtria reigning in Spain, without at the ſame time attacking its younger branch and ally, which held the Empire, where it had made it ſelf formidable to all the Princes of Germany. An. 1634.

Ferdinand II, Archduke of Auſtria, King of Bohemia and Hungary, ſucceeding to the Imperial Crown on the death of Matthias, in the year 1618, the Proteſtants of Bohemia refuſed to obey him, and choſe the Elector Palatine, chief of the *Evangelical Union*, for their King. * This Prince accepted of the offer made him by the Bohemians, flattering himſelf that all the Proteſtant Powers would intereſt themſelves in his quarrel: the Hungarians, the Sileſians, the Moravians, and a great part of the Upper Auſtria declared in his favour. On the other hand, Ferdinand engaged in his in- The ſtate of the Empire.

* The other principal members of the Evangelical Union were the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the Prince of Anhalt, and the Marquiſes of Anſpach, and Baden-Dourlach.

An. 1634. tereſt the Duke of Bavaria, the head of the *Catholic League**: the Pope afterwards ſent him conſiderable ſums, and the King of Spain promis'd him a body of troops. Ferdinand's firſt ſucceſs was his gaining the famous battle of Prague, on the eighth of November 1620; and from that time it was one continued courſe of victories. The Elector, his competitor, was driven out of Bohemia, deprived of his dominions, and degraded from his Electoral Dignity, which was transferred to the Duke of Bavaria.

The King of England, father in law to the Palatine, and the King of Denmark, who had married that Elector's ſiſter, ſupported his intereſt: the United Provinces made him a promiſe of men and money; and even France privately favour'd the Proteſtant League, and the degraded Palatine. The war continued full ſeven years; and during that time, the famous Walſtein, General to the Emperor, entirely ruined the Proteſtant party, forced the King of Denmark to quit Germany, repreſs'd and kept within bounds the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and diſpoſſeſſed the Duke of Mecklenburg of his Dominions, of which he obtained the inveſtiture for himſelf. This long ſeries of ſucceſs made Ferdinand formidable to Germany and all his neighbours: France grew jealous of him, and the Cardinal turn'd his thoughts to find ſome means of ſtopping ſo rapid a progreſs: he cou'd think of none more effectual than to deprive the Imperial troops of their General, and provide the confederate forces with one of great reputation.

* The other members of the Catholick League were the Electors of Mentz, Cologn and Triers; the Archbiſhop of Saltzbourg, the Biſhops of Bamberg, Wirtzbourg and Aichſtat; the Archdukes of Auſtria, and ſeveral other German Princes, ſubject to the Emperor; even the Pope and the King of Spain would be admitted into the League; which was farther ſtrengthen'd by two Proteſtant Princes, the Elector of Saxony, out of jealouſy of the Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, who was at variance with the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel.

Richelieu,

Richelieu, by inſtilling into the Emperor's mind ſuſ- An. 1634.
picions of Walſtein, got him removed from the com-
mand of the army; and at the ſame time ſolicited the great Guſtavus, King of Sweden, to leave the extremity of the North, and put himſelf at the head of the EVANGELICAL UNION. This Monarch had all the qualities, which form a true Hero. Perſuaded that Heaven had reſerved him the glory of being the Protector of the Germanic Liberty and the Reformed Religion, he haſten'd the concluſion of a peace with the Poles; enter'd into a league with France, from whence he drew conſiderable ſums; raiſed troops in Germany, Holland and the Empire; made a deſcent on the Iſle of Rugen, and drove the Imperialiſts out of it in the month of June, 1630. This fortunate expedition was follow'd by a torrent of victories: in leſs than two years he made himſelf maſter of the moſt conſiderable part of Germany, and of all the countries from the Baltic to the Danube. Ferdinand then recalled Walſtein, who had retired into Moravia, to ſend him againſt Guſtavus. Walſtein's fortune ballanc'd that of the Swediſh Hero, and he at length gave him battle at Lutzen near Leipſick, the fourth of November 1632. The action was bloody: the Swedes got the victory; but they loſt their King; and after his death they no longer ſupported themſelves with the ſame glory. Two years after, their troops, to the number of thirty thouſand men, were entirely defeated in the plains of Nordlingen, on the ſixth of September 1634. Ferdinand was now a ſecond time on the point of enſlaving all Germany: he had quelled the rebels in Bohemia, made that Crown hereditary in his family, calmed the troubles of Auſtria, reduced Moravia and Sileſia to obedience, deprived the Elector Palatine of his dominions, broke the ſtrength of the Proteſtant League, and lower'd the power of the

An. 1634. Swedes in the Empire. By theſe ſucceſsful enterprizes he retain'd all the Princes of the Catholick League in his alliance, except the Elector of Triers: he even drew off the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the Duke of Wirtemberg from the Proteſtant League, who abandoning the intereſts of Sweden, eſpouſed thoſe of the Houſe of Auſtria; in ſhort, he obliged all the Princes of the Proteſtant League to obſerve a neutrality, except the Duke of Lunebourg and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who declared for France.

An. 1635. The Union of Cardinal Richelieu with the Duke of Weymar and the Chancellor Oxenſtiern.

Such was the ſituation of the Empire, at the time of the rupture between France and Spain. In order to oppoſe ſuch a number of united Powers, Cardinal Richelieu entered into a cloſe union with two great men, Weymar and Oxenſtiern, both perſons of uncommon capacities; one for war, the other for politics. Duke Bernard de Weymar, a Prince of the elder branch of the Houſe of Saxony*, had been the great Guſtavus's chief and ableſt General. Ever ſince the defeat at Nordlingen, he had under his command twelve thouſand well diſciplined veterans, whoſe officers expected to riſe only by their ſwords. Weymar had got them together from the Proteſtant Circles of Suabia, Franconia and the Rhine; and had led them to the aſſiſtance of the great Guſtavus, who paid them as long as he lived. The Swedes being no longer in a condition of maintaining them, Weymar had recourſe to France, and the King, by a treaty ſign'd at St. Germains en Laye, promiſed him a conſiderable ſum for their ſupport, during the whole time of the war. After the death of Guſtavus, and eſpecially after the battle of Nordlingen, the heads of the Evangelical League, from motives of private intereſt, were going

* Charles V had taken the Electorate from the elder branch of the Houſe of Saxony, and conferr'd it on the younger branch, from which the preſent Elector is deſcended. This injuſtice had inſpired all the Princes of the elder branch with an implacable hatred to the Houſe of Auſtria.

to

to diſunite; but * Baron Axel Oxenſtiern, High Chancellor of Sweden, brought them again to reaſon. He put a ſtop to the ambition of ſome, ſuſpended the jealouſy of others, and made them all ſenſible that they cou'd find no ſecurity but in their ſteady union againſt the Houſe of Auſtria. An. 1635.

Oxenſtiern made a journey into France in the beginning of this year, had an interview with Cardinal Richelieu, and concluded a new treaty with the King at Compiegne. It was then that thoſe two Miniſters concerted all that was executed, thirteen years after, in the treaty of Munſter; and that Richelieu conceived a violent jealouſy of a rival, in whom he with impatience ſaw talents equal to his own, and virtues perhaps ſuperior. Before theſe two great Miniſters appear'd, the world was unacquainted with what is at preſent called in Europe, THE BALLANCE OF POWER. Princes waged war without foreſeeing that even their victories might ſometimes be attended with fatal conſequences; not knowing that to make an enemy too weak, was no leſs dangerous than to make an ally too ſtrong. Richelieu and Oxenſtiern were the firſt who thought of weighing Nations, computing their value, comparing their different intereſts, combining their mutual relations, calculating their force, and thereby of forming a new ſpecies of politics unknown to former ages. Having thus diſtinctly conſider'd the advantages and neceſſities of each Court in Europe, Richelieu ſecured ſome of them, and diſpoſed others to remain neuter. †He agreed with the Proteſtant States of the Empire, ‖ that the King ſhould not only pay the confederates certain ſums of money, but maintain an Army of twelve thouſand foot upon the Rhine, to be commanded by a Prince, choſen out of the

* Fath. Bougeant, Hiſt. des Negot. de Weſtph. & Puffendorf.
† Recueil des Traittés de paix.
‖ The Circles of Suabia, Franconia and the Rhine.

con-

An. 1635. confederates, under whom the King ſhould name a LIEUTENANT GENERAL. The Proteſtant States in return obliged themſelves to join their forces to that army, in order to take Briſac, and the towns lying on the other ſide of the Rhine, as far as Conſtance, and to put under the King's protection Alſace, and all the towns depending on it, where he was to have liberty to place French garriſons.

A new Alliance between France and the United Provinces.

The Cardinal made a new treaty with the Hollanders, by which it was ſtipulated to attack the Provinces in the Low Countries ſubject to Spain, with an army of ſixty thouſand men, one half of which was to be raiſed by the States, and the other by the King. Lewis XIII promiſed further to pay fifteen hundred thouſand livres every year, toward the expence of the war; and the States General on their part engaged to keep a Fleet conſtantly in the road, for facilitating expeditions and deſcents on the coaſts of Flanders. From that time the King and the Hollanders divided the Low Countries between them, as a certain conqueſt. This too haſty diviſion proves that the greateſt genius's are capable of committing the greateſt blunders. Richelieu let the whole extent of his deſigns and ambition be perceived by the Hollanders, who were ever after afraid of becoming ſo near neighbours of France as to have no interval between that Kingdom and their Commonwealth; for which reaſon they conducted themſelves in the war with the utmoſt precaution, and lent their aſſiſtance to the King with reſerve and diffidence.

An Alliance between France and the Princes of Italy.

At the ſame time Richelieu managed the Princes of Italy ſo artfully, that ſome of them ſtood neuter, and the Dukes of Savoy, Parma and Mantua ſign'd a treaty with the King. He then engaged the Court of Denmark and the Republic of Poland to make peace with the Swedes; and to hinder the Engliſh from declaring in favour of the Spaniards, he

he fomented the differences then ariſing between the unfortunate King Charles and his Parliament; and laſtly to complete his work, he remotely paved the way for the revolt of the Catalans and the revolution of Portugal. Nothing gives us a more exalted idea of the genius of this Miniſter, than to ſee him thus diving into the hidden councils of the moſt diſtant Courts with impenetrable ſecrecy, and infinite activity, putting ſome of them into action, quieting others, ſoothing theſe with promiſes, intimidating thoſe with menaces, and forcing them all to be attentive to his motions. Men are eaſily dazzled with the ſplendor of ſuch vaſt projects, when they are unacquainted with the principles of that noble policy, which aims much more at the happineſs of a people, than the aggrandizing of a Prince. An. 1635.

The diſpoſitions of Charles IV, Duke of Lorrain.

While the war was carrying on between the two Crowns, the Duke of Lorrain, though deprived of his dominions, ſtill kept up a ſmall Army of between ten and twelve thouſand men, which by turns ſerved the Empire, Spain and France. The money deſigned for the payment of his ſoldiers, he retain'd for his private uſe, and ſuffered them to live at diſcretion. He at firſt declared for Spain.

The alliances of different powers, for and againſt France.

Thus, on one hand, the Emperor, the Duke of Lorrain, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and almoſt all the Catholic Princes, States and Cities of Germany, entered into a league with Spain againſt France; on the other, Savoy, Holland, Sweden, the Elector of Triers, the Duke of Lunebourg and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel were united in the intereſt of France againſt Spain.

Rupture between the two Crowns.

Such was the ſituation of political affairs in Europe, when Cardinal Richelieu found a ſpecious pretext for coming to an open rupture with Spain. The Elector of Triers had quitted the Catholic League three years before; the ſucceſs of Guſtavus Adolphus's

An. 1635. Adolphus's arms, and the misfortunes of the Houſe of Auſtria had determined him to make that ſtep. He had treated with France, prevailed with Sweden to obſerve a neutrality, and admitted French garriſons into Triers, Harmanſtein and Philipſburg. The Spaniards and Auſtrians bent upon revenge, declared war againſt him in January 1635. They ſoon after ſurprized Triers, carried off the Elector, and led him priſoner firſt to Bruſſels, afterwards to Ghent, and at laſt to Vienna. The King, provoked at this inſult offered to an ally of France, ſent, according to the antient forms, a herald to Bruſſels, May 19. on the 19th of May, to declare war againſt Spain.

The frontiers nevertheleſs were none of them at this time in a condition of defence; the King's coffers were empty; and there was a great want of artillery and ammunition. In ſuch circumſtances, Richelieu's * enemies looked on his enterpriſe as an act of the higheſt imprudence; but this great Miniſter ſo ſkilfully made uſe of the allies of France, that he kept her enemies employed, and weakened them on all ſides; which ſhews that negotiations and alliances may be as ſerviceable to a State as money and fortified towns.

Four armies raiſed in France.

The Cardinal however raiſed four armies, in order to attack the Spaniards in as many different places. The firſt and moſt numerous, conſiſting of twenty five thouſand men, was ſent into the Low-Countries, under the command of the Marſhals de Châtillon and de Brézé; the ſecond into the Milaneſe, under the Marſhal de Créqui; the third into the Valteline, under the Duke of Rohan; Cardinal de la Valette † led the fourth to the aſſiſtance of the Swedes in Germany; and the Viſcount de Turenne was named his Major General.

* Mem. de Montreſor.

† Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, ſon of John Lewis de Nogaret, Duke of Epernon, and Margaret de Foix de Candale.

The

The Swedes, when headed by the great Guſtavus, had penetrated into the heart of Germany; but the Confederates, who, ſince the fatal action at Nordlingen, were not in a condition of engaging in any conſiderable enterpriſe, confined themſelves to the defence of the towns, of which they were maſters. Galas, the Imperial General, had made Worms his magazine and place of arms; from thence he ſent detachments to ravage the country, and ſurpriſe the towns that were garriſoned by the Swedes. The Count de Mansfeld had blocked up Mentz three months before, by that General's direction, who ſome time after laid ſiege to Deux-Ponts, in order to cut off all communication between Lorrain, then in the hands of the French, and Alſace, of which they deſigned to make themſelves maſters. The King's forces, which appeared in one body in the month of July in the territory of Mets, to the number of between eighteen and nineteen thouſand men, entered Germany under the command of * Cardinal de la Valette, who joined the Duke of Weymar on this ſide of the Rhine near Binghen. The two Generals took that town, marched to the relief of Mentz, forced the Count de Mansfeld to retire, and furniſhed the place with proviſions. They then advanced toward Deux-Ponts, and Galas raiſed the ſiege of that town at their approach. While the Imperialiſts were poſſeſſing themſelves of the country about Worms, the two confederate Generals marched to Francfort, to oblige that city, which was diſpoſed to make up matters with the Emperor, to continue faithful to the Proteſtant Party; and having poſted a ſtrong garriſon in Saxen-hauſen near Francfort, they returned and encamped under Mentz, and thus remained maſters of the country.

An. 1635.

Mentz furniſhed with proviſions.

August 16.

24.

28.

General Galas, who was at Worms, not daring to venture a battle, or attack the Confederates in

The French retreat.

* Mercure François.

their

An. 1635. their camp, turned his thoughts to cut off their proviſions. The country had been ruined by the Imperial and Swediſh troops during the long wars in Germany, and the convoys were to be brought from Keyſerloutre, Sarbruck, and ſeveral other very diſtant places on the ſide of Lorrain. The Marquiſs de Gonzaga ſeized on all thoſe towns by Galas's orders; from that time the Confederates received no ſupplies, and proviſions roſe to ſo exceſſive a price, that the enemies ſoldiers went and ſold them bread at the hazard of their lives. In this diſtreſs the Viſcount de Turenne gave freſh proofs of his generoſity; he ſold his plate and his equipage for the ſupport of part of the troops. The ſcarcity became ſo great, that the ſoldiers were obliged to live on roots and herbs, and their horſes had no other food but the leaves of trees and vines. A longer ſtay in that place would infallibly have ſtarved the armies; the two Generals therefore being reſolved to quit their camp, thought of retiring into the three Biſhopricks, where was plenty of proviſions; and, leaving four thouſand men at
Sept. 26. Mentz, they decamped in the night, and repaſſed the Rhine at Binghen over a bridge of boats. At the ſame time Galas croſſed the river at Worms, and purſued the two armies. The Duke of Weymar, to make his retreat with the utmoſt expedition, buried his canon privately, and burnt all his uſeleſs baggage. The two armies marched night and day without reſting, through difficult by-ways, between the mountains. Galas, who followed them with his cavalry, overtook them on the banks of the river Glann, between Odernheim and Meſſeinheim; where the French and Swedes facing about, repulſed him with a valour that made him ſenſible, their retreat was far from being a flight. This unexpected reſiſtance ſerved only to animate him the more; he put himſelf at the head of nine thouſand horſe, marched

marched through the Dutchy of Deux-Ponts, paſs'd the Sarre, entered Lorrain, and lay in ambuſcade for them in a defile between Vaudrevange and Boulay. A warm action enſued, in which the Imperial cavalry was routed by the French ſquadrons; five hundred Croatians of Galas's army were killed, with a great number of officers; and the two Confederate armies reached a ſecure place, after a march of thirteen days *. An. 1635.

† Hiſtory affords us but few examples of ſo difficult a retreat. The French, deſtitute of proviſions, and haraſſed with all thoſe diſtempers that are occaſioned by ſcarcity, made their way through woods and between mountains, purſued by the Imperialiſts, who had plenty of every thing. One part of the army obſerved no order in the march; ſuch as could deceive the vigilance of the officers, threw themſelves among the enemy, in hopes of finding wherewith to appeaſe their hunger. Others ſtraggled to the right and left to pillage; and a conſiderable number, quite ſpent with fatigue, could but juſt drag themſelves along after the main body of the army. During this painful retreat, the Viſcount de Turenne ordered the leſs neceſſary parts of his baggage to be thrown out of the waggons, to make room for the poor wretches, who were too weak to march. What proviſions he could find he ſhared with the ſoldiers; he comforted ſome, encouraged others, ſympathized with the ſufferings of all, and relieved them to the beſt of his power, without any diſtinction of Frenchmen and ſtrangers. Wherever there was a neceſſity of making head againſt the enemy he fought with intrepid valour, poſſeſſed himſelf of the eminences, made himſelf maſter of the defiles, ſeized on the villages and all places, where he could poſt his infantry, whoſe fire

The Viſcount's conduct during this retreat.

* Monglat, Pufendorf, Mercure François.
† Mem. de Monglat, vol. 1. pag. 98.

frequently

An. 1635. frequently ſtopt the Imperialiſts; in ſhort, he ſhewed an activity, a courage, and above all an humanity, which drew the admiration of the army, and the attention of the Court.

A new treaty between France and the Duke of Weymar.

As ſoon as the Confederate troops were fixed in their winter quarters in Lorrain, Weymar and la Valette went to Paris. The Swedes had entertained a ſuſpicion of Weymar, ever ſince the defeat of Nordlingen; they looked on him as the author of their misfortune, becauſe he had given battle againſt the advice of the Marſhal d'Horn. The Duke, on the other hand, was diſſatisfied with Sweden, whoſe Miniſters did not treat him with ſufficient reſpect, and he liſtened therefore to the offers of France. The King allowed him a penſion of fifteen hundred thouſand livres, and four millions a year for the ſupport of an army of eighteen thouſand men, which the Duke obliged himſelf to furniſh and to command under his Majeſty's authority.

An. 1636. The siege of Saverne.

The bad ſucceſs of the laſt campaign had ſo diſcouraged Cardinal de la Valette, that he would have renounced the profeſſion of arms, had not Cardinal Richelieu, who was well acquainted with his abilities, engaged him to reſume the command of the army. When Richelieu propoſed to him the ſiege of Saverne, he refuſed to charge himſelf with that enterpriſe, unleſs he had the Viſcount de Turenne with him. The Miniſter conſented; and * the Viſcount touch'd with the confidence repoſed in him by Cardinal de la Valette, neglected nothing to convince him that it was not ill placed. La Valette and Weymar, having put their troops on their march, reached Alſace about the beginning of June, and attacked Saverne in two different places. Weymar made a breach on his ſide, and gave an aſſault to the town, but met with a vigorous repulſe. Two days after, he made a ſecond attempt, and with as

* Mem. de Monglat, vol. 1. pag. 125.

little

little ſucceſs; yet without being diſcouraged, he made a third, which proved very bloody on both ſides. Piqued at ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance he redoubled the fire of the battery, and at the fourth aſſault the upper town was carried. The lower town and the caſtle remained ſtill untaken. Turenne obſerving that the works advanced but ſlowly on la Valette's ſide, put himſelf at the head of the French troops; in a little time he got over the paliſade, paſſed the ditch, mounted the breach, poſſeſſed himſelf of the intrenchments which the enemy had made there, and lodged himſelf in them. By his liberalities and example he ſo animated the ſoldiers, that the lower town and the citadel could not hold out againſt them beyond the end of June; but the laſt day of the ſiege the Viſcount was wounded in his right arm by a muſket-ſhot. Though ſeveral of the Surgeons were for cutting off his arm, they did not proceed to that extremity; he was a long while under cure; and it was viſible by the alarms his illneſs cauſed, and by the joy expreſſed on his recovery, how much he was already loved and eſteemed by the troops. An. 1636.

The Spaniards enter France.

During theſe expeditions of la Valette and Weymar in Alſace, the Spaniards made great progreſs on the ſide of Flanders. Their army, compoſed of Germans, Hungarians, Poles and Croatians, under the conduct of * John de Vert, pouring into Picardy, renewed the remembrance of the old inundations of the Barbarians. Paris was in all appearance on the point of being ſacked; its inhabitants fled into the Provinces, and ſpread a terror wherever they went. The danger, which appeared extreme, was increaſed yet more by Galas's irruption into Burgundy. This General propoſed nothing leſs than to march with colours flying quite to

* He was a peaſant's ſon of Weſtphalia, and roſe to the command of the Emperor's forces, by his merit only.

An. 1636. Paris, and flattered himſelf with the proſpect of ſharing the plunder of that rich capital with John de Vert's army. The Pariſians, terrified at a danger ſo preſſing, taxed themſelves; all the tradeſmen's apprentices were liſted; every houſe with great gates was obliged to furniſh a man and horſe, and the reſt one foot ſoldier each. The King advanced toward Compiegne, at the head of fifty thouſand men; the enemy perceiving the French in a condition of defending themſelves, and even of acting upon the offenſive, quitted Picardy, and Paris was freed from its fears.

Galas driven out of Burgundy.

The army, which had entered Burgundy, was not ſo happy in its retreat. Galas had inveſted St. John-de-Lône. This town, though ſmall and ill fortified, proved a fatal rock to the Imperialiſts; it ſuſtained their attacks with extraordinary vigour, and the efforts of the garriſon were not the only difficulties with which the beſiegers had to ſtruggle. Prodigious rains laid the whole country under water, and made the Soane overflow. Galas was forced to raiſe the ſiege abruptly, and leave his artillery, with part of his baggage behind him. A very great number of ſoldiers were drowned in the roads broken by the torrents; ſeveral were knocked on the head by the peaſants, and, to complete the misfortune, the Count de Rantzau † defeated their rear-guard. Of thirty thouſand men, which compoſed the enemy's army, about twelve thouſand only eſcaped, who retired into Franche-Comté. That Province, though ſubject to Spain, was obliged by a treaty with the King, to obſerve a neutrality, during the rupture between the two Crowns; but the levies which the inhabitants of Franche-Comte had permitted Philip to make there, ſerved for a pretext to Cardinal Richelieu to break the neutrality with them. After the taking of Saverne,

† Joſias de Rantzau, a native of Holſtein, afterwards Marſhal of France.

the

the Duke of Weymar and Cardinal de la Valette drew near to Franche-Comté. General Galas deſigned to take up his winter-quarters there, and had advanced, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of the moſt advantageous poſts. La Valette, being apprized of his motions, ſent the Viſcount de Turenne with a body of troops to meet the enemy. His wound, which was not yet cured, did not hinder him from executing the orders he had received; he marched day and night; and coming to the little town of Juſſey, where Galas was beginning to intrench himſelf, he attacked him, defeated him, forced him to turn back, purſued him as he retired, charged his rear-guard ſeveral times, and took a good number of priſoners. Galas, before he repaſſed the Rhine, attempted to relieve Joinville then beſieged by the Duke of Weymar; but the Viſcount poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly between the Imperialiſts and the army of the beſiegers, that he broke all the meaſures taken by Galas to throw ſuccours into that place. It ſurrendered to the Duke of Weymar; and the Imperialiſts being forced to retire into Germany by the way of Briſac, paſſed the Rhine there. An. 1636.

In the beginning of 1637 Ferdinand II died at Vienna, at ſixty years of age. Though a little before his death his ſon Ferdinand III had been choſen King of the Romans, and his ſucceſſor to the Empire, France did not think proper to own him as ſuch, on account of the irregularity of his election, which inſtead of being made at Ratiſbonne, according to the antient uſage, had been made at Francfort; where the Spaniards, while the Diet was ſitting, had employed menaces to intimidate the deputies. The oppoſition of the French to the election exaſperated afreſh the Court of Vienna; and the war was renewed. An. 1637. The death of the Emperor Ferdinand II, and the election of Ferdinand III.

The good ſucceſs of the preceding campaign determined Richelieu to entruſt Cardinal de la Valette, The Viſcount goes into Flanders.

An. 1637. and his brother the Duke of Candale, with the command of the army, that was to enter Flanders by the way of Picardy. * La Valette again demanded that Turenne might be one of his Major Generals. They began the campaign with inveſting Landrecies, a town in Hainaut, fortified with five ſtrong baſtions and with wet ditches. This ſiege gave the Viſcount infinite fatigue; the weather was bad; the rains, which fell in large quantities, ſoon filled the trenches; and the ſoldiers ſtood up to the waiſt in water. The Viſcount ſtaid there with them, and never left them but to give the Cardinal an account of the progreſs of the works. The ſoldiers animated by the example of a Leader whoſe generoſity they at the ſame time largely experienced, ſurmounted all the obſtacles which art, nature, and the enemy threw in their way, and the town ſurrendered.

He beſieges and takes the caſtle of Solre.

After the taking of Landrecies, Cardinal de la Valette advanc'd along the banks of the Sambre; and while he was making himſelf maſter of Maubeuge, detached a party to ravage the country between Mons and that river; that, if the enemy encamped there, they might find it difficult to ſubſiſt. As he ſaw no Spaniards in the field, he marched back immediately, appeared before Aveſnes, and made as if he deſigned to beſiege that town, but ſuddenly turned off towards la Capelle. In the mean time he ſent the Viſcount to take Solre, the ſtrongeſt caſtle in all Hainaut, and provided with a garriſon of two thouſand men. The Viſcount attacked it ſo briſkly, that in a few hours the enemy ſurrendered at diſcretion. † Some ſoldiers having found a woman of exquiſite beauty in the place, conducted her to their Commander, as the moſt valuable part

* See Mem. recondit. di Siri, and the Mem. de Monglat, of the year 1637.

† Mem. MSS. de l'Abbé Raguenet, & Mem. MSS. de Fremont d'Ablancourt.

of

of the booty. The Viſcount was then but twenty ſix; he was not inſenſible: however, he pretended not to underſtand his ſoldiers meaning, and highly commended their diſcreet conduct, as if their only deſign in bringing her to him, had been to ſecure her from the brutality of their comrades. He ſent for her huſband, and delivering her into his hands, told him, *he owed the preſervation of his wife's honour to the diſcretion of his ſoldiers.* An. 1637.

Cardinal de la Valette having reſolved to make Maubeuge a ſtrong place of arms, which ſhould keep the whole country in awe, left there his brother the Duke of Candale and the Viſcount de Turenne, with a large body of troops intrenched under the cannon of the town, while he himſelf went to beſiege la Capelle. The Cardinal Infant, who commanded in the Low Countries, being appriſed of the diviſion of the French troops, advanced towards Maubeuge, and attacked it, with a view of obliging la Valette to come to the Duke of Candale's aſſiſtance, and to raiſe the ſiege of la Capelle. The Duke in this exigence, taking with him a party of Horſe, went to preſs his brother to come and join the French troops, which he left under the command of the Viſcount de Turenne. The Cardinal Infant haſtening to make his advantage of the opportunity, raiſed a battery of thirty pieces of cannon, which played on the town two whole days. Being informed the next day that la Capelle was taken, and that Cardinal de la Valette was on his march to Maubeuge, he made a general aſſault; but being repulſed on all ſides by the Viſcount de Turenne, he raiſed the ſiege, and thought only how to poſt himſelf ſo as to hinder the junction of the two French armies: but this Enterpriſe likewiſe miſcarried, and he was obliged to retire. The Viſcount, who had Orders to follow him, forced part of the Spaniſh Army to repaſs the Sambre, where great numbers were drowned, and many

Maubeuge attacked by the Cardinal Infant.

An. 1637. killed; and thus he gloriously finished the Campaign.

Toward the end of this year, Cardinal Richelieu engaged the Duke of Weymar to come to Paris; where they had several conferences together, the Result of which was, that they should besiege Brisac, which was look'd upon as the Bulwark of Germany.

An. 1638. The Duke of Weymar besieges the Forest-Towns, and blocks up Brisac.

The Duke thought it advisable to begin with making himself master of the Forest Towns. He took the field in the end of January, in order to be beforehand with the Imperialists; and surmounting the extreme severity of the season, and the difficulty of the ways, he came within sight of Seckingen and Lauffembourg. Both these places were taken at the first attack, while the Count de Nassau and Colonel Rosen carried Valshut almost without Opposition. These successes encouraged the Duke of Weymar to make an attempt upon Rhinfeld, the fourth and strongest of the Forest Towns. He passed the Rhine, and besieged that place, notwithstanding the inconveniencies occasioned by the snow that fell, and by the waters that filled the trenches. He had already made a lodgment at the foot of the breach, when the Imperialists, commanded by John de Vert, Duke Savelli *, and two other Generals, came to the relief of Rhinfeld. Weymar gave them battle twice: the first of those Actions was doubtful, and the Imperialists succoured the Town; but in the second, he gained a complete victory, and the Emperor's four Generals were taken, with several Officers of Distinction. Rhinfeld, and some other towns of Suabia then surrendred to the Conqueror. John de Vert being carried prisoner to Paris by the King's order, made himself esteemed in his misfortunes, by his noble and polite manner of returning the civilities he met with at the Court of France.

* He was Prince of Albano and a Prince of the H. Empire.

This

This victory † put the Duke of Weymar in a condition to block up Briſac. In order to ſtreighten that town, it was neceſſary to be maſter of all the places about it. Fribourg, one of the firſt that was beſieged, did not ſurrender till after ſeveral engagements in which the Duke was always victorious; he at length began the ſiege of Briſac in the month of April. An. 1638.

The Viſcount ſerves under the Duke of Weymar, at the Siege of Briſac.

Cardinal Richelieu ſent him two reinforcements, under the conduct of the Viſcount de Turenne and the Count de Guébriant *, as LIEUTENANT GENERALS; a rank till that time not known in France. On the other hand, the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Bavaria neglected nothing to ſuccour that place, the preſervation of which was of very great Importance to them. General Goëutz with Duke Savelli, who had eſcaped out of priſon, aſſembled an army on the banks of the Danube, drew toward Briſac, made ſeveral marches round the town, and twice found means to throw in proviſions. In order to hinder the like ſuccours for the future, the Duke of Weymar reſolved to attack the enemy's army: he went out of his lines with two thirds of his troops, which were in all but ſixteen thouſand men; General Goëutz had twenty thouſand. Weymar, after a march of leſs than two hours, through woody and very narrow ways, found the enemy in the plain of Wittenweir; where he drew up his army in line of battle: After ſome diſcharges of the artillery on both ſides, the two armies engaged with great fury. The right wing of the Imperialiſts was puſhed into a hollow way that was behind it, and routed, without being able to rally. Duke Savelli, who had commanded it, was taken, with ſeven pieces of cannon. Weymar's right wing being on a very diſ-

† Hiſt. du Maréchal de Guébriant, pag. 76. and 80. and Mem. de Monglat, Vol. 1. pag. 223.

* John Baptiſte Budes, Count de Guébriant, afterwards Marſhal of France,

An. 1638. advantageous ground, was put into diſorder: Goëutz, who had poſted himſelf on an eminence, was going to attack it in flank, and the Viſcount de Turenne, who commanded it, was in danger of being ſurrounded, if the Duke of Weymar had not come to his aſſiſtance, and warmly charged Goëutz, who nevertheleſs kept his ground on the eminence. As it would have been difficult to diſlodge him from it by force, recourſe was had to ſtratagem *. The Count de Guébriant adviſed the ſending ſome troopers into the neighbouring foreſt, with drums and trumpets. At the noiſe made by thoſe inſtruments, the Imperialiſts thinking they were going to be attacked in their rear, quitted their eminence. Weymar's troops ſeized it, and at the ſame time took the cannon on the left wing of the Imperialiſts. In the heat and confuſion of the action, the Imperialiſts likewiſe took that of the Confederates on the right wing; ſo that both ſides employed the enemy's artillery in cannonading one another. After a conflict that laſted ſeven hours, and in which all the troops charged ſeveral times, the Imperialiſts were put to flight, and yielded the Duke of Weymar a complete victory; the glory of which was ſhared by the Count de Guébriant and the Viſcount de Turenne. Goëutz made his eſcape, having loſt in this battle all his cannon, his ammunition, three thouſand waggons, five thouſand ſacks of corn, and all his baggage. Two thouſand Imperialiſts were kill'd on the ſpot; fifteen hundred were made priſoners, and forty five ſtandards were taken, with all the colours †.

The Duke of Lorrain marches to the Relief of Briſac.

The Emperor ordered his Generals to make a ſecond attempt, at the hazard of a ſecond defeat; not valuing the loſs of an army, provided he could ſave a town, which in the hands of the French would

* Hiſt. du Maréchal de Guébriant, pag. 80.
† See the MS. Memoirs of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

become

become the key of Germany, a barrier againſt the enterprizes of the Imperialiſts on France, and an obſtacle to Ferdinand's lending of ſuccours to the Spaniards in the Low Countries. The Duke of Weymar, however, being perſuaded that the enemy were no longer in a condition to oppoſe his enterpriſe, returned to his entrenchments before Briſac, and continued the ſiege. But ſcarce had he finiſhed his lines, when the Duke of Lorrain with a body of Troops marched againſt him about the middle of October. Weymar quitted his lines a ſecond time, and leaving a part of his army there under the conduct of the Viſcount de Turenne and the Count de Guébriant, went to meet the enemy, whom he found near Tannes. The Duke of Lorrain began the attack at ten in the morning; and, after an obſtinate Fight, in the heat of which the Generals encountred one another, the enemy's ſquadrons were broke: the Duke of Weymar taking advantage of their diſorder, entirely routed them, and obtained as complete a victory over the Lorrainers as he had done over the Germans. An. 1638. Octob. 15.

General Goëutz, and Lamboy* the Spaniſh General, who had ſucceeded Savelli, being appriſed of the defeat of the Lorrainers, got ſome troops together, came to the very banks of the Rhine through by-ways, and reached the Duke of Weymar's Quarters, before their march was perceived. They took a view of his lines, attacked them vigorouſly, and carried two redoubts. All was giving way before them, when the Viſcount de Turenne and the Count de Guébriant came up: they drove them out of the lines; and the Imperialiſts, who returned to the charge ſeveral times, being as often repulſed with loſs, paſſed the Rhine and laid ſiege to Enſiſheim. From this place, the ancient capital of the upper Alſace, on the river Ill, in the neighbour- The Generals Goëutz and Lamboy come to the relief of Briſac.

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An. 1638. hood of Briſac, they might have incommoded Weymar's army: But the Viſcount did not allow them time to make themſelves maſters of that town: he attacked them with part of the French troops, beat them in their very camp, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and diſperſed them in ſuch a manner, that they had no farther thoughts of relieving Briſac.

Battles during the ſiege of Briſac. During the ſiege of that town, which laſted near eight months, there were ſix engagements, of which thoſe of Witteinweir, Tannes, and Enſiſheim might properly be called battles. The beſieged ſuffered all the calamities attending a long ſiege, before Reynac, who commanded in the place, would ſurrender. Proviſions became ſo exceſſively ſcarce, that he was obliged to poſt ſome of his ſoldiers in the churchyards, to prevent digging up the bodies of the dead *. Of all the outworks, the beſieged had only one fort left, called Reynac's Ravelin; but as by this they continued maſters of the chief branch of the Rhine, they had hopes of receiving ſuccours on that ſide, which hindred them from propoſing or liſtening to any terms. The Duke of Weymar having obſerved, that the Viſcount had been ſucceſsful in all his undertakings during the ſiege, ordered him to attack that fort. Turenne advanced to it at the head of four hundred men, who cut down the palliſades with hatchets, entered it in three places at once, and put all who defended it to the ſword.

Briſac taken. Decem. 17. The Governor of the town, after the loſs of that fort, deſpairing of relief at length capitulated. He ſurrendered on the ſeventeenth of December. During the whole time of the ſiege, the Viſcount de Turenne had a quartan ague; yet he continued to ſhow by his actions that he was inſenſible to every thing but glory.

An. 1639. Richelieu † and the Duke of Weymar, not long

* Lotichius, and Puffendorf.

† See *Siri Mem. recondit.* Vol. 8. pag. 768. and Puffendorf, *de rebus Suecicis* Lib. XI.

after,

after, conceived a mutual jealouſy of each other. The Duke had joined in the war againſt the Imperialiſts, much more with a view to his own intereſts than thoſe of France, and weary of depending upon a Miniſter, to whom he did not think he was obliged, as being a foreign Prince, to pay much deference, he was contriving how to keep Briſac to himſelf, in order to form a Principality of the conqueſts he might make in the neighbourhood of that town. The Cardinal, who wanted to have him put Briſac into the hands of the French, invited him to Paris, under pretence of concerting meaſures for the enſuing campaign. The Duke reſolutely refuſed to go, and only ſent General d'Erlach thither, whom he had made Governor of Briſac. This conduct increaſed the Cardinal's ſuſpicions and diſtruſts; but he was ſoon freed from his uneaſineſs. The Duke of Weymar, going into Sundgaw the ſouthern part of Alſace, about the beginning of July, fell ſick at Newbourg, and died after an illneſs of fifteen days, at the age of thirty ſix. This Prince, the youngeſt of eleven brothers, was the moſt eminent of them for abilities, courage, and nobleneſs of ſentiments: it was by his prudence, patience, generoſity, learning and magnanimity that he merited the elogium beſtowed on him by the great Guſtavus, when he called him his RIGHT ARM.

An. 1639.

The death and Character of Weymar.

On the death of Weymar, the Emperor, the King of France, the Dukes of Bavaria, Lawembourg and Lunebourg, the Duke of Saxony Brother to Weymar, and Charles Lewis Prince Palatine, us'd each of them all his endeavours to gain the deceaſed General's troops, who ſeemed to have moſt inclination for the laſt named of the competitors. As ſoon as that Prince, who was then at the Hague, received the news of the Duke's death, he went over into England, to raiſe money, and when he had got together twenty five thouſand Pounds ſterling *, left that

The Marſhal de Guébriant commands the forces of Weymar.

* About 100,000 Crowns French money in thoſe days.

An. 1639. that country, in order to go to the army in Alſace. As France was the ſhorteſt way, he propoſed to travel through that kingdom *incognito*; but Cardinal Richelieu, who had notice both of his journey and of his deſigns, cauſed him to be ſtopt at Moulins, and conducted to the caſtle of Vincennes, where he was kept cloſe priſoner till the Weymarian troops had delivered up all the places conquered in Alſace to the King, and put themſelves under the command of the Count de Guébriant, who was named their General. Guébriant * joined the famous Swediſh General Bannier, who ſoon filled all Germany with the glory of his name, and by his exploits almoſt equalled his maſter the great Guſtavus.

Richelieu offers one of his relations in marriage to the Viſcount.

The Viſcount de Turenne went to Court, where the Cardinal loaded him with commendations, deſired his friendſhip, and to engage him more ſtrongly to his intereſt, offered him one of his neareſt relations in marriage; but the Viſcount, apprehenſive that difference of religion might prove an obſtacle to that intimate union which ſuch engagements require, made no ſcruple ingeniouſly to tell him his mind. The Miniſter approved the reaſons of his refuſal, admired the truth and probity which reigned in all his proceedings, and far from being offended with him, gave him freſh proofs of his eſteem, by continuing to employ him in the moſt difficult affairs. It was then that he reſolved to ſend him into Italy, where the war was renewed on account of the Ducheſs of Savoy, ſiſter to Lewis XIII.

The Riſe of the Wars in Savoy.

Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, died the ſeventh of October 1637. From the beginning of the rupture between the two Crowns, he had declared for France, and had continued ſteady in that Intereſt to his death. The Spaniards fearing that Chriſtina his widow would put herſelf entirely under the conduct of the King her brother, ſtirred up Prince Tho-

* Puffendorf. *de rebus Suecicis* lib. XI. *Grotii Epiſt.*

mas

mas and the Cardinal of Savoy, both attached to his Catholick Majeſty's intereſt, to go into Piedmont, and wreſt out of the hands of their ſiſter in law, both the regency, and the guardianſhip of the young Duke her ſon. Thoſe Princes going into Lombardy, perſuaded the people that the Ducheſs had a deſign of giving them up to the French, and raiſed a civil war in her dominions. The Ducheſs would not for ſome time have recourſe to her brother, for fear of increaſing the jealouſies of her ſubjects; but ſhe was at laſt conſtrained to it. An. 1639.

Cardinal de la Valette commands in Piedmont.

* The Marſhal de Créqui had been ſent into Italy, to make war in that country; but after he had ſerved there three years, he was killed by a cannon ball at Bremen on the Po. The Cardinal de la Valette had by order ſupplied his place in the beginning of 1638. But he was not ſo ſucceſful in Italy as he had been in Flanders: he in a few months loſt Yvrée, Verceil, Veruë, Nice, and ſome other conſiderable towns, of which the Princes of Savoy, aſſiſted by the Spaniards, made themſelves maſters. The Piedmonteſe, ſeeing the progreſs of Prince Thomas's arms, and chuſing rather to be ſubject to him than to ſtrangers, gave him up Quiers, Montcalier, the city of Turin, and ſeveral other important places. Cardinal Richelieu made the Ducheſs dowager of Savoy ſenſible that ſhe could not be ſecure of any of her towns, without providing them with French gariſons and governors of the ſame nation. The Ducheſs conſented, and this complaiſance augmented the jealouſies of the Piedmonteſe and the Spaniards. At the ſollicitation of theſe latter, the Emperor publiſhed an Ordinance, by which he declared the Ducheſs deprived of the guardianſhip of her children, diſengaged her ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, and enjoined them to acknowledge the two Princes of Savoy, the young Duke's uncles, as his

* Mem. de Monglat, tom. 1. pag. 248.

An. 1639. guardians. All Piedmont roſe againſt the Ducheſs, and ſubmitted to her brothers in law, excepting Suza, Carignan, Chivas and the citadel of Turin. To prevent the total ruin of that Princeſs, Richelieu, who was acquainted with Turenne's capacity, ſent him into Lombardy. Though the Viſcount did not command in chief, his preſence ſoon changed the face of affairs; and the Ducheſs of Savoy received great aſſiſtance from his valour and counſels. Cardinal de la Valette dying in the month of October, it was expected that the Viſcount de Turenne would be appointed General in his room; but the circumſtances of affairs were not favourable to him. The Duke of Bouillon, for reaſons which ſhall be ſoon explained, had lately received at Sedan Louis de Bourbon Count of Soiſſons and Clermont, who was Richelieu's profeſſed enemy. This Miniſter was ſo little acquainted with the Viſcount's character, as to fear he might be ſeduced by the Duke his brother, and therefore would not truſt him with the command in chief, but gave that employment to the Count d'Harcourt *, who had married a relation of his Eminence's. As the Count's merit was equal to his birth, and he had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſeveral glorious actions, the Viſcount willingly ſerved under him: deſpite and jealouſy are paſſions unknown to elevated ſouls.

A victory obtained by the Viſcount at la Route de Quiers.

On the Count d' Harcourt's arrival, a Council was held to conſider, what enterprizes they were in a condition to go upon. Though the enemy had twice the number of troops, it was reſolved to march in ſearch of them; and the Count advanc'd to Villeneuve d'Aſt, where they were encamped. Surprized at the bold approach of an army ſo much inferior to their own, they, inſtead of coming out of their lines, only intrenched themſelves more ſtrongly. In

* Henry de Lorraine, Count d'Harcourt, d'Armagnac and de Brionne, Maſter of the Horſe to the King of France.

vain

vain did the Count, in order to draw them to a battle, beſiege Quiers, a place ſituated two leagues from Turin, on this ſide Ville-neuve: Turenne poſted himſelf, with all the cavalry, between their quarters and the Count's; and the Spaniards let the town be taken without attempting to ſave it: But, as it was but poorly furniſh'd with proviſions, the Count d' Harcourt could make no long ſtay there. The enemy having foreſeen that he would be obliged to go to Carignan for ſubſiſtence, the Marquis de Leganes *, who commanded them, poſſeſſed himſelf of the eminence of Poirin, at the foot of which the French were to paſs; while Prince Thomas marched toward the little river of Santena, which they were likewiſe obliged to croſs. As the Marquis de Leganes came from Aſt, and Prince Thomas from Turin, the French army could not get to Carignan, without expoſing both their flancsto the enemy. This being the caſe, the Viſcount offered to go with two thouſand men, and ſeize the bridge of Santena, near a village named la Route. He ſet out at the head of the detachment he had demanded, and was ſo expeditious, that he had made himſelf maſter of the bridge, and all the neighbouring poſts, before Prince Thomas arrived there. This Prince, with 3000 foot and 1500 horſe, fell on the Viſcount, who having ſuſtain'd the enemy's firſt attack, without giving way, charg'd them in his turn, broke them, and drove them before him the ſpace of a mile. Prince Thomas was twice thrown into a ditch, and had been infallibly taken, if the darkneſs of the night had not favour'd his eſcape. While the Viſcount was engaged with Prince Thomas, the Marquis de Leganes attack'd the Count d'Harcourt, who tho' he had the advantage over the Spaniards, durſt not advance towards the river, being uncertain whe-

An. 1639.

Nov. 20.

* Don Diego Philip d'Avila de Guſman, Grandee of Spain, and Governor of the Milaneſe.

An. 1639. ther Prince Thomas was not in poſſeſſion of the paſſes; but on receiving advice from the Viſcount, that the enemy had been prevented and defeated, he continued his march; and the army being rejoined by the detachment, the Viſcount put himſelf in the rear-guard, and made the troops file off before him, with the cannon and baggage. He was the laſt man that paſſed the bridge, which with his own hands he helped to break down. The Count d'Harcourt proceeded to Carignan without oppoſition, where he quartered part of his army, and the reſt in the adjacent places. Such was the battle of *la Route de Quiers*, the ſucceſs of which was attributed to the Viſcount de Turenne; who, nevertheleſs in a particular account he gave of that action in a letter he ſent to Paris, ſpoke ſo little of himſelf, that one of his friends wrote to him, "That Fame was "miſtaken, ſince ſhe every where publiſhed that "he had had the principal part in the victory."

The Viſcount takes ſome places, and furniſhes the citadel of Turin with proviſions.

The campaign being ended, the Count d'Harcourt went to paſs the winter at Pignerol, leaving the command to the Viſcount de Turenne, whom he ordered to furniſh the citadel of Turin with proviſions. It was defended by the Count de Couvonge *, againſt Prince Thomas, who was maſter of the town. The Viſcount, perceiving that the troops were too much crowded in their quarters in the country of Saluces, and that the cavalry wanted forage, beſieged the towns of Buſca and Dronero, on the river Maira: he took them in ſix days, and the army by extending itſelf had ſufficient ſubſiſtence. He then ſent the neceſſary ammunition and proviſions into the citadel of Turin, in ſpight of all Prince Thomas could do to hinder it.

An. 1640. Caſal ſuccoured.

In the beginning of the next ſpring, the Count d'Harcourt receiv'd advice that the Marquis de Leganes, to retrieve the misfortunes of the laſt campaign,

* Anthony de Stainville, a Nobleman of Lorrain.

had

had beſieged Caſal, which France defended for her ally, the young Duke of Mantua. Though the Spaniſh General, with an army of 20,000 Men, had entrenched himſelf in the neighbourhood of that town, near a hill, on the other ſide of the little river of Gattola, the Count d'Harcourt attempted the relief of the place. Having left his cannon under a ſtrong guard, he marched toward Caſal in the end of April, with 7000 foot and 3000 horſe: He arrived near the entrenchments, took a view of them, found them wide, deep, and ſtrengthned by forts and redoubts. Deſigning to attack them in three places, he divided his army into three bodies. The Viſcount de Turenne * and the Count du Pleſſis-Praſlin, were to make an attack from the declivity of the hill, at the head of the firſt body compoſed of old troops; the ſecond formed of new, under the command of la Mothe-Houdancourt, had orders to gain the top of the ſame eminence; and the troops of Savoy, which made the third, commanded by the Marquiſſes de Villes and de Pianezze, were deſigned for the attack on the ſide of the plain. La Mothe-Houdancourt paſſed the Gattola, with two regiments of infantry, and ſix of cavalry, and made himſelf maſter of the top of the hill: the Viſcount de Turenne, and the Count du Pleſſis-Praſlin, who followed Houdancourt with 700 musketeers, forced the enemy, who advanced againſt them, back into their entrenchments, and gave the reſt of the troops time to paſs, and draw up in order of battle. The attack began: the ſoldiers threw themſelves into the ditch: the Count d'Harcourt, who ſaw them ſuffer much from the enemies pikes, ſpurr'd on his horſe; and, crying out *we muſt conquer or die*, paſſed the entrenchments. Roque Serviere, who commanded de la Mothe-Houdancourt's infantry, had entered them at a place where he met with leſs difficulty,

An. 1640.

* Mem. de Monglat, tom. 1. pag. 351.

An. 1640. and had been followed by the cavalry: the Count d'Harcourt put himſelf at their head, and charged all that ſtood in his way. Soon after, the Viſcount de Turenne and the Count du Pleſſis, who had been repulſed three times, at the fourth attack forced the entrenchments. The Marquiſſes de Villes and de Pianezze entred them at the ſame time on another ſide, which was abandoned by the enemy, and put into diſorder a large body of the Spaniſh horſe, which was on the point of ſurrounding the Count d'Harcourt. * The victory however was not entirely ſure: a body of 4000 horſe was preparing to return to the charge: the Viſcount perceiving their motion, immediately drew up all the cavalry of the army together, ſo cloſe in one ſingle front, that the enemy could not diſcern whether they were ſupported or not. Deceived by this diſpoſition, their courage failed them, and they fled to the right and left, ſome toward the bridge of Sture, others toward Fraxinet, where they had likewiſe a bridge over the Po. The Viſcount purſued them till night, took twelve pieces of cannon, ſix mortars, twenty four colours, all their ammunition, and the greateſt part of their baggage; 3000 men were killed in the field of battle, 1800 were made priſoners, great numbers were drowned in the Po, and the reſt owed their ſafety to the night only. Never was victory more complete, or more unexpected by the vanquiſhed: the Marquis de Leganes did not imagine that the Count d'Harcourt would with a handful of men have dared to attack an army ſo conſiderable, and ſo well intrenched as his.

Turin beſieged. Caſal was thus relieved: and the Count d'Harcourt, willing to make the beſt advantage of the ardour of the French troops encouraged by this ſucceſs, called a council of war, in order to reſolve on

* Mem. MSS. of Fremont d'Ablancourt, and the MSS. of Abbè Raguenot, already quoted.

ſome new enterpriſe. The Viſcount was of opinion that they ſhould beſiege Turin; but this motion was oppoſed by the other General Officers: they maintained it would be raſhneſs to beſiege, with 10,000 men, a town provided with a garriſon of 12,000, and which might be relieved by Leganes, who had ſtill an army of 15,000 well diſciplined ſoldiers. The Viſcount, who did not uſe to ſpeak till he had well weighed what he intended to ſay, perſiſted ſteadily in his opinion, repreſenting, that the King's affairs would be abſolutely ruined in Piedmont, notwithſtanding all the advantages already gained, if Prince Thomas made himſelf maſter of the citadel of Turin, which could not be prevented but by laying ſiege to the town. The Count d'Harcourt yielded to his reaſons: the ſiege was reſolved upon, and the army marched immediately. When they came near Turin, they ſeized the bridge on the Po, the convent of Capucins ſituated on a riſing ground on the right of that river, Valentin, a houſe of pleaſure of the Dukes of Savoy, lying on the left of the ſame river, and all the other advantageous poſts in that neighbourhood. Lines of circumvallation and contravallation were drawn, and the place was cloſely ſtreightned, in hopes of ſtarving it in a little time.

An. 1640.

May 10.

General Leganes looking on this enterpriſe of the Count d'Harcourt as a favourable opportunity of revenging the affront received before Caſal, wrote to Prince Thomas, who had ſhut himſelf up in Turin, that he was marching to his aſſiſtance; that the Count d'Harcourt ſhould not eſcape him this time; and that the ladies of Turin might before-hand hire windows in the great ſtreet to ſee him go by priſoner. He augmented his army with the garriſons of moſt of the towns in the Milaneſe, and came with 18,000 men to view the grounds about the Capucin's convent, with a deſign of paſſing the Po over the bridge of Turin; but he found that bridge ſo well guarded,

An. 1640. that not daring to attack it, he retired behind the mountains of Savito and Cano-retto, which are on the banks of the Po. The Count d'Harcourt ſuſpecting that he deſigned to paſs that river at Moncalier above Turin, ſent the Viſcount de Turenne thither with a detachment to oppoſe his paſſage. But notwithſtanding all the expedition the Viſcount could make, when he came to Moncalier, he found that four or five thouſand of the enemy had already croſſed, and were beginning to entrench themſelves
June 4. in the Caſſines on this ſide of the river. He marched up to them, without loſing a moment: his ſoldiers making a difficulty of paſſing a brook, which being ſwelled by the rains then overflowed, he paſſed it firſt himſelf: he attacked the Caſſines which the enemy had already bored, to fire through the openings, drove them thence, ſlew great numbers of them, and forced the reſt into the Po, where they were drowned: he then burnt the bridge, which was built only of wood, and intrenched himſelf on the banks of the river over againſt the enemy. This action had ſuch an effect on the Marquis de Leganes, that he retreated toward Revigliaſco, under pretence of going to get recruits, and left his army under the conduct of Carlo della Gatta, the beſt and braveſt of his officers. The Viſcount, knowing the capacity and vigilance of his enemy, ordered all the fords above Moncalier to be guarded day and night. Carlo della Gatta durſt neither paſs them in his preſence, nor throw bridges over any part of the river: all his enterpriſes were confined to the ſeizing of ſome ſmall iſlands which lay neareſt the banks of the Po. Turenne found means to land in them, before the enemy had finiſhed their intrenchments, and all whom he found there, were either cut in pieces, or drowned in the river, but he himſelf received a muſket ſhot in his ſhoulder, and was obliged to be carried to Pignerol.

Le-

Leganes ſoon returned to Moncalier, paſſed the Po in ſpite of the reſiſtance made by the French, and went and ſhut up the Count d'Harcourt in his camp. Perhaps there never was an inſtance of beſiegers and beſieged in the like ſituation. Prince Thomas kept the Count de Couvonges block'd up in the citadel, and was beſieged in the town by the Count d'Harcourt, who was himſelf ſhut up in his lines by the Marquis de Leganes. Leganes having agreed to attempt the French lines, while Prince Thomas ſhould make a ſally, the Count d'Harcourt was attacked on the ſecond of July, both from the town and the plain. Prince Thomas ſeized on Valentin; and Carlo della Gatta having forced and filled up the lines in the quarter of de la Mothe-Houdancourt, entered Turin with 1200 horſe and 1000 foot. The Marquis de Leganes making himſelf afterwards maſter of the river Ora, as he had done before of the Po, hindered the paſſage of proviſions to the Count d'Harcourt's camp, both from Suza and Pignerol; and the famine grew ſo preſſing, that not one of the general officers was for remaining any longer before Turin.

An. 1640.

Leganes beſieges the Count d'Harcourt in his camp before Turin.

July 2.

The Viſcount de Turenne, hardly recovered of his wound, arrived when they were in this condition; he brought from Pignerol to the army a large convoy of proviſions and ammunition, eſcorted by ſome troops got together from Guyenne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny and Franche-Comté, and which the Cardinal had ordered to paſs the mountains. Leganes * oppoſed their paſſage in vain: he had ſent a detachment which harraſſed them on the road, and laid ſeveral ambuſcades for them; the Viſcount ſurmounted all obſtacles, and conducted the convoy ſafe to the camp on the twelfth of July.

The Viſcount de Turenne brings a convoy to the Count d'Harcourt.

July 12.

Prince Thomas in Turin was reduced to a greater want of proviſions than the French. It is pretended

Turin taken.

* Mem. de Monglat, pag. 357. an. 1640.

An. 1640. that the town was ſupplied for ſome time by Franceſco Zignoni Bergamaſco, an Engineer *, who filled ſeveral large bombs with meal, and threw them into the town over the Count d'Harcourt's camp: but the French having the benefit of ſuch as fell by the way, this expedient was laid aſide, which became almoſt as advantageous to the beſiegers as to the beſieged. Carlo della Gatta's enterpriſe was attended with no better ſucceſs: ſallying out at the head of 3000 men, of whom he would have diſburthened the town, by conducting them into Leganes's camp, he could not force his way, and was obliged to return. The beſieged made ſeveral other ſallies, which coſt them great numbers of men, while the Marquis de Leganes was to no purpoſe endeavouring to force the French lines. Prince Thomas, finding himſelf reduced to the laſt extremity, demanded a capitulation, and ſurrendred on the ſeventeenth of
Sept. 17. September; he went out with 8000 men, and was conducted to Yvrée. The Marquis de Leganes repaſſed the Po with his troops. The Count d'Harcour full of glory from the ſucceſs of a campaign, which he had opened by the relieving of Caſal, and cloſed with the taking of Turin, returned to France by orders from the Court, and left the army under the command of the Viſcount de Turenne.

An. 1641. The troops having ſuffered extremely at the ſiege
The Viſcount takes Montecalvo, and beſieges Yvrée. of Turin, the Viſcount allowed them time to refreſh themſelves; but made them march as ſoon as they were fit for action. Toward the end of February he beſieged Montecalvo, of which he made himſelf
April. 11. maſter in ten days. He then paſſed the Po, and laid ſiege to Yvrée, where Prince Thomas kept his magazines. Foreſeeing that the Prince would be expeditious in throwing ſuccours into this place, he did not alight from his horſe till he had finiſhed his lines and ſecured his quarters. Prince Thomas did

* See l'hiſtoire de la Republ. de Veniſe, by Nani, tom. IV. lib. XI.

not

not fail to haſten towards Yvrée, believing that the Viſcount would not have time enough to provide for the ſecurity of his camp: finding him too well intrenched, to venture to attack him, he hoped to make a diverſion by laying ſiege to Chivas: but the Viſcount did not quit the ſiege he had begun: he only preſſed it more vigorouſly, that he might go the ſooner to the relief of Chivas. An. 1641.

In the mean time, on the news that the Viſcount had taken Montecalvo in ſo few days, and was beſieging Yvrée, the Count d'Harcourt's emulation was rouſed amidſt the pleaſures and encomiums of the Court: he ſet out for Piedmont, and haſtened to the camp before Yvrée. While he was continuing the ſiege of that place with the greateſt vigour, the murmurs of the people of Chivas forced him to the ſuccour of that town, which lies but four leagues from Turin. Prince Thomas, whoſe only view was to ſave Yvrée, raiſed the ſiege of Chivas before the Count d'Harcourt arrived there, and retired to the other ſide of the Po. The Count might have returned and renewed the ſiege of Yvrée; but abandoning all the Viſcount's ſchemes, he paſſed the Po, and went to take Ceva, Mendovi and Coni. Turenne, who had the Intereſts of his country more at heart, than thoſe of his own ſelf-love, laboured for his General's glory with the ſame zeal as before, at the ſieges of thoſe three places. Cardinal Richelieu, who knew all the merit of thoſe two Princes, from that time judged, that in order to render them more uſeful to the State, he ought to ſeparate them. Richelieu reſolves to ſeparate the Count d'Harcourt and the Viſcount de Turenne.

While the Viſcount was ſignalizing himſelf in the ſervice of France, the Duke of Bouillon, his brother, was unhappily engaged in the Spaniſh intereſt by his union with the Count de Soiſſons. The Count had retired to Sedan four years before, to ſcreen himſelf from the ill-will of the Cardinal. As Richelieu had form'd the ambitious project of an The Count de Soiſſons retires from Court.

An. 1641. alliance of his own family with that of his Sovereign, he ſent a perſon to the Count, to propoſe a match between him and the Counteſs de Combalet his niece. The propoſal put that Prince into ſuch a paſſion, as to make him expreſs by his behaviour, the extremity of his hatred to the Miniſter. The Cardinal on the other hand was incenſed at ſo inſulting a refuſal, and to revenge himſelf, put in practiſe his ordinary maxim, of humbling all who oppoſed his will. The Count de Soiſſons, who was naturally high-ſpirited, and had a courage becoming his birth, kept no meaſures in his contempt, courted the friendſhip of all the great men of the kingdom who hated Richelieu, and entered into a cloſe union with the Duke of Orleans, in order to counter-balance the Miniſter's exceſſive authority. Richelieu, in the mean time, labour'd inceſſantly for the Count's deſtruction, and at length found means to ruin him in the King's favour; the Count, being forced to leave the Court, retired to Sedan. As ſoon as he arrived there, the Duke of Bouillon gave the Cardinal notice of it, and begged the King, *not to be diſpleaſed with his affording a retreat to a Prince of his blood, who was perſuaded he had done nothing which could offend his Majeſty* *. The King and the Cardinal approved of the Duke's conduct, and gave the Count leave to ſtay at Sedan.

A cloſe union between the Count de Soiſſons and the Duke of Bouillon.

During his reſidence at that place, he entered into a cloſe union with the Duke of Bouillon. The former was very capable of inſpiring all the ſentiments of a warm friendſhip; and the latter very ſuſceptible of a tender and conſtant affection. The Count did not paſs for a man of great talents; but was endow'd with almoſt all the virtues: he was intrepid, liberal, diſintereſted, faithful, ſincere, in one word, a man of honour and probity. The

* See Langlade's Memoirs, p. 40. and the Mem. of Monglat, Tom. I. p. 389.

Duke

Duke was in poſſeſſion of the ſame virtues, with a ſuperiour genius. When there is a conformity of ſentiments between two hearts, a ſuperiority of talents on one ſide, far from proving an obſtacle to friendſhip, ties the knot ſtill faſter: with pleaſure a man lets himſelf be adviſed by the perſon he loves; and this deference does not fail to ſooth the ſelf-love of him who adviſes. While they lived in this manner, the Duke in one of thoſe moments when the tranſports of friendſhip make a man loſe ſight of his duty, ſwore he would be inſeparably attach'd to the Count's intereſt, and that the City of Sedan ſhould always be his aſylum againſt the injuſtice of the Cardinal.

The Duke of Bouillon refuſes to make the Count de Soiſſons leave Sedan, and receives the Duke of Guiſe in that town.

Some time after, the Miniſter renewed his negotiation for effecting the marriage of the Counteſs de Combalet with the Count de Soiſſons; and being exaſperated by a freſh refuſal, he inſiſted on the Duke of Bouillon's obliging the Count to leave Sedan: the Duke replied, that the King having at firſt approved of his receiving that Prince, he had then given him his word never to force him thence: that after ſuch an engagement, he was obliged in honour not to violate the laws of hoſpitality in regard to a Prince of the Blood, who was guilty of no breach of duty to his Sovereign. The Miniſter, ſhock'd at the Duke's reſolution, ſoon made him feel the effects of his reſentment.

Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. had by ſeveral agreements with the Duke of Bouillon, engaged to maintain the garriſon of Sedan, and pay the troops belonging to it: the Cardinal prevailed with the King to diſcontinue that payment, in order to force the Duke of Bouillon to ſell that ſovereignty to his Majeſty. From that moment, the Duke openly declared againſt the Miniſter, and would liſten to no propoſal. The Cardinal, who had not yet ſhewn to what a degree his anger was raiſed, being appriſed

An. 1641. appriſed that the Archbiſhop of Rheims*, afterwards known by the name of DUKE DE GUISE, had alſo retired to Sedan, could contain himſelf no longer, and ſaid publickly before the King, "that "that place was become the refuge of all the factious, and a ſecond Rochelle, which ought to "be levelled with the ground.

The three princes in their retreat at Sedan, make a treaty with Spain and the Empire.

Theſe civil broils in France revived the courage of the Spaniards, who applied themſelves with ardor to gain the Duke of Bouillon, and the Princes that were with him at Sedan. Cardinal Richelieu on his ſide, employed all the means which might force them to join with Spain, that he might deprive the Count de Soiſſons of his places and employments, the Archbiſhop of Rheims of his benefices, and the Duke of Bouillon of his dominions. So far was he from helping them out of the labyrinth, in which he had engaged them, that by his ſecret intrigues, the hard terms he required of them, and the preparations he made for beſieging Sedan, he reduced them to ſign a treaty with the Cardinal Infant †, who acted in the name of the King of Spain, and with the Arch-Duke ‖, who acted in the name of the Emperor. Each of them promiſed 7000 men; and thoſe two bodies united were to repair to the neighbourhood of Sedan. The Spaniards likewiſe obliged themſelves to ſend 200,000 crowns for raiſing ſoldiers: but they paid only part of the money, and entirely failed in that article of the treaty which related to the troops. The Emperor was more faithful to

* Second ſon to Charles of Lorrain, Duke de Guiſe. He had been engaged in the Queen Mother's party, and baniſhed on her account. He had only the title and revenue of a Biſhop, without being in orders. Returning into France, he had a mind to marry the Princeſs Ann de Gonzaga, and deſired the King's permiſſion for reſigning to his brothers his benefices, which amounted to 400,000 livres a year: The Cardinal refuſed his requeſt; incenſed at the refuſal, he retired to Sedan.

† Ferdinand of Auſtria, called the CARDINAL INFANT, ſon to Philip III. King of Spain.

‖ Leopold William, ſon to the Emperor Ferdinand II.

his

his engagements, and ſent General Lamboy, with the 7000 men that he was to furniſh. An. 1641.

Soon after the ſigning of this treaty, the Count de Soiſſons, the Duke of Guiſe, and the Duke of Bouillon, to juſtify their conduct, diſperſed a † manifeſto through all France, in which they ſtiled themſelves PRINCES OF PEACE. They there drew the Cardinal in the moſt odious colours, reviving the remembrance of his ingratitude to the Queen Mother his benefactreſs, and his cruelty to the rivals of his power; and exaggerating his complaiſance for his creatures, the violence of his adminiſtration, and all the faults in his character. The Cardinal gave the Marſhal de Chatillon orders to advance toward Sedan with his troops, conſiſting of 10,000 men; while the Marſhal de la Meilleraye, at the head of a powerful army, had orders to march into the very heart of Flanders, with a view of drawing all the forces of the Low Countries thither, and hindring the Cardinal Infant from ſending ſuccours to Sedan. While the Marſhal de Chatillon lay encamped a league from Sedan, near the village of Marphée, General Lamboy joined the Imperial army to that of the *Princes of Peace*, in the beginning of June. After this conjunction, he marched directly againſt the French, with the Count de Soiſſons, who commanded a body of reſerve, and the Duke of Bouillon, who headed the cavalry. The Duke of Guiſe, who was gone to Bruſſels to negotiate the treaty, was not yet returned. The Marſhal de Chatillon, as ſoon as he ſaw the enemy, drew up his army in line of battle, and attack'd them briskly. In this firſt onſet, the royal army had the advantage: but afterwards the cavalry of the Princes * charged the ſquadrons of the King with ſo much vigour, that they broke them

They publiſh a manifeſto in juſtification of their conduct.

The battle of Marphée, and death of the Count de Soiſſons.

† See the manifeſto in V. Siri.
* Langlade's Memoirs, pag. 70.

intirely,

An. 1641. intirely, forced them on the foot, and in a very little time routed the royal army. The Marſhal de Chatillon loſt all his infantry, and moſt of his principal officers were killed or made priſoners. The Duke of Bouillon finding himſelf near the place where he had left the Count de Soiſſons with his body of reſerve, thought to give him notice of the defeat of his enemies, but found him dead in the midſt of his guards without having fought, nor was it ever known by whom or in what manner he was killed: it is probable he had unfortunately killed himſelf in attempting to raiſe the viſor of his helmet with the end of his piſtol. The Duke of Bouillon ſent the news of that Prince's death to the Cardinal Infant, and at the ſame time, begged him to make the Spaniards put the articles of the treaty in execution; but he received no other anſwer than encomiums and compliments; nay Lamboy had orders to repaſs the Meuſe, and join the Cardinal Infant, who was marching to the relief of Aire.

The Cardinal adviſes the King to beſiege Sedan.

In the mean time, Richelieu, not to leave the revolt of the Duke of Bouillon unpuniſhed, ordered the Marſhal de Brezé to join his army to that of the Marſhal de Chatillon: they amounted together to 25,000 men: the King appeared in perſon on the frontier; where all preparations were making for the ſacrifice of a new victim to his juſt indignation. The Duke of Bouillon found himſelf deſtitute of aſſiſtance: the Emperor had drawn off his troops: Spain had broke her word to him: nevertheleſs, ſupported by his courage alone, he prepared himſelf for a vigorous defence in Sedan, where he did not doubt he ſhould be beſieged. It happened luckily for him, that it was of dangerous conſequence to undertake the ſiege of Sedan, while the ſucceſs of that of Aire was ſo dubious; and this conjuncture was the Duke of Bouillon's preſervation. The King being arrived at Mezieres, moſt of the Lords ſpoke in the Duke's

Duke's favour, ſome out of hatred to the Cardinal, others out of generoſity. Cinqmars †, Maſter of the horſe to the King of France, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt by his zeal for the Duke: he ſtrongly repreſented to the King the wrongs, the cruelties, and the injuſtices committed by the Cardinal, who had driven the *Princes of Peace* to the greateſt extremities: he palliated the Duke's faults, and at laſt obtained for him a compleat pardon, on very honourable terms. The town of Sedan was allowed to obſerve the ſame neutrality as before the troubles, and the Duke of Bouillon was reſtored to the full poſſeſſion of all his eſtates in France: he on his ſide promiſed to releaſe the priſoners made at the battle of Marphée, and reſtore the baggage, cannon and ſtandards he had taken in that action. An. 1641.

As ſoon as the conditions were ſettled, the Duke of Bouillon, accompanied by a great number of gentlemen and officers, waited on the King at Méziers, asked pardon for his fault in the preſence of the whole Court, and promiſed his Majeſty an inviolable fidelity for the time to come: * but at the ſame time earneſtly intreated him to give orders for reſtoring the memory of the Count de Soiſſons, who had been arraigned by the Parliament of Paris; for carrying his body into France, to be buried there in the tomb of his anceſtors; and for re-eſtabliſhing ſuch as had eſpouſed his quarrel, in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates. The great concern the Duke expreſſed for the Count's memory, diſplayed the goodneſs of his heart, and the nobleneſs of his ſentiments: the King moved by his intreaties, ordered all he asked to be executed. An. 1642.

Louis XIII. marches into Rouſſillon.

Theſe troubles being appeaſed, Cardinal Richelieu formed a deſign of conquering Rouſſillon. It

† Henry Coiffier d'Effiat, Marquis de Cinqmars.

* Mem. de Siri, tome 2. liv. 1. & Anecdotes de la vie du Cardinal de Richlieu, tome 1. liv. 3. pag. 468.

An. 1641. intirely, forced them on the foot, and in a very little time routed the royal army. The Marshal de Chatillon lost all his infantry, and most of his principal officers were killed or made prisoners. The Duke of Bouillon finding himself near the place where he had left the Count de Soissons with his body of reserve, thought to give him notice of the defeat of his enemies, but found him dead in the midst of his guards without having fought, nor was it ever known by whom or in what manner he was killed: it is probable he had unfortunately killed himself in attempting to raise the visor of his helmet with the end of his pistol. The Duke of Bouillon sent the news of that Prince's death to the Cardinal Infant, and at the same time, begged him to make the Spaniards put the articles of the treaty in execution; but he received no other answer than encomiums and compliments; nay Lamboy had orders to repass the Meuse, and join the Cardinal Infant, who was marching to the relief of Aire.

The Cardinal advises the King to besiege Sedan.

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An. 1642. was now three years ſince the Catalans, natural enemies of the Caſtillans, complaining that the Court of Spain violated all their privileges, had applied themſelves to France for protection againſt the perſecutions of the Duke d'Olivarez, his Catholic Majeſty's Miniſter. As Rouſſillon interrupted the communication of Languedoc with Catalonia, Richelieu judged the conqueſt of that province would be neceſſary for facilitating the paſſage of the ſuccours to be ſent to the rebellious Catalans. At his ſolicitation, the King went thither in perſon, and ordered 22,000 men of the beſt troops in the kingdom to march towards Narbonne, who were to be joined by thoſe already in Languedoc and Dauphiny. The Marſhal de Meilleraye had the command of them, and the Viſcount de Turenne was named his Lieutenant General. Their firſt deſign was to beſiege Perpignan; but as the Spaniards might relieve that place by the help of the port of Collioure, where it was eaſy for them to land, the French contented themſelves with blockading Perpignan, and about the middle of March laid ſiege to Collioure. In a month's time they took ſword in hand all the forts which the Governor had built round that town, and the place ſurrendered on the tenth of April.

April 10. Cinqmars's conſpiracy.

After the taking of Collioure, the King went from Narbonne and inveſted Perpignan, but in a little time, by the advice of his phyſicians, returned to Narbonne, on the account of the ill ſtate of his health. He brought the Viſcount de Turenne back with him into Languedoc, leaving the care of the ſiege to the Marſhals de Schomberg * and de la Meilleraye, who took the town by ſtarving it. Salces and ſeveral other ſtrong places were carried without much trouble; and the conqueſt of Rouſſillon coſt but one ſingle campaign. During the ſiege

* Charles de Schomberg, Duke d'Alluin, iſſue of the antient houſe of Schomberg in Miſnia in Germany.

of

of Perpignan, which laſted near five months, the Duke of Bouillon entered into a new engagement with the Spaniards. The death of the Count de Soiſſons had delivered Cardinal Richelieu from a formidable enemy: the other Princes and Lords, who had impatiently born that Miniſter's authority, were dead, impriſoned or baniſhed. But the moment he flattered himſelf with having nothing more to fear, he ſaw himſelf threatned with the greateſt danger he had ever encountred: what neither the Princes of the Blood, the great men of the Kingdom, the forces of Spain, nor the armies of the Empire had been able to effect, was on the point of being executed by the intrigues of young Cinqmars, Maſter of the horſe and the King's favourite. An. 1642.

Cinqmars owed his fortune to Richelieu, who had brought him to Court: proud of the favour he was in, he reſolved to ſet up for himſelf, and ſhake off his dependence on his benefactor: and the Miniſter perceived his deſign. Richelieu was zealous in the ſervice of his friends, and no leſs implacable in his hatred of thoſe who proved falſe to him: animated with a juſt reſentment, he did all in his power to humble Cinqmars, and blacken him in the King's opinion. The Maſter of the horſe then thought himſelf diſengaged from all ties of gratitude; and, forgetting, that ill offices ought never to efface the remembrance of eſſential favours, he on his part laboured to ſet the King againſt the Cardinal. He made it his buſineſs to draw off his moſt faithful creatures from his intereſt, and entered into a cloſe union with his enemies, by the aſſiſtance of the Preſident de Thou, who had all the capacity, the talents, and the reputation neceſſary for gaining thoſe in whom Cinqmars's youth might create a diffidence.

The Duke of Bouillon engages in Cinqmars's affair.

The Duke of Bouillon was one of thoſe who were moſt warmly ſollicited: de Thou employed the moſt

An. 1642. moſt inſinuating and pathetic diſcourſes on this occaſion, remonſtrating to him that he owed the preſervation of Sedan to the Maſter of the horſe, who had prevented the fatal effects of the Cardinal's revenge. Great ſouls are always conſtant in gratitude, and ſometimes ſuffer themſelves to be miſled by friendſhip. The Duke of Bouillon could not refuſe to ſee Cinqmars: the meeting was at St. Germain en Laye, ſome time before the King's departure for Perpignan. Cinqmars declared his diſpoſitions, and laid open his projects to the Duke; having firſt in the moſt lively colours repreſented to him the danger there would be in allowing Cardinal Richelieu to poſſeſs himſelf of the Regency, if the King, whoſe health declined daily, ſhould die. He made him ſenſible, that then he would have every thing to fear from a Miniſter who had always ſhewn ſo great a deſire of diveſting him of his Sovereignty; and concluded with aſſuring him, that the Duke of Orleans had put himſelf at the head of the party, and deſigned to ſtrengthen it with the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards. The Duke of Bouillon replied, that he was ready to enter into all the projects neceſſary for hindring the Cardinal from tyrannizing over the Kingdom after the King's death, but could never approve of holding any correſpondence with the Spaniards; that he had lately got out of their hands, and would never come into them again. The Duke of Bouillon, who afterwards ſaw the Duke of Orleans, ſpoke in the ſame terms to him that he had done to Cinqmars, and ſtrongly repreſented to him, that a Prince of his merit, and ſo near the throne, ought, in caſe of the King's death, to ground his hopes rather on the ſubjects of the kingdom, than on foreigners: he promiſed him, however, that if the Cardinal, after the King's deceaſe, ſhould fail in the reſpect due to the Royal Family, Sedan ſhould be a retreat for the Queen, the ſons of France, and his

his Royal Highneſs. The Queen received the ſame aſſurances from him. Thus out of gratitude to Cinqmars, friendſhip for de Thou, and a juſt jealouſy of the Cardinal, the Duke of Bouillon ſuffered himſelf to be drawn into this conſpiracy, and made himſelf ſuſpected of having had a ſhare in the treaty with Spain, though he had always adviſed againſt it, and had with unſhaken reſolution reſiſted all the ſollicitations employed to engage him in that affair. An. 1642.

In ſpite of the remonſtrances of the Duke of Bouillon, and the advice of the Preſident de Thou, the Duke of Orleans and the Maſter of the Horſe treated with Spain. Fontrailles, an intimate friend of Cinqmars, and a man of diſtinction, good underſtanding and courage, was choſen for that negotiation. He went to Madrid, concluded a treaty with the Duke d'Olivarez, and managed the affair with ſo much addreſs and ſecrecy, that he returned to Paris, without any one's knowing of his abſence, or having the leaſt ſuſpicion of his journey. Gaſton and Cinqmars treat with Spain.

Soon after, the Duke of Bouillon was named General of the army in Piedmont; he ſet out for Italy about the ſame time that the King ſet out for Perpignan. The Miniſter was reſolved not to quit the King, thinking by his preſence to maintain that authority which the favourite was every day endeavouring to leſſen. But during this journey Cinqmars gained a yet greater aſcendant over the mind of his Maſter: his credit with the King increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the Cardinal, alarmed more than ever, addreſſed himſelf to Prince Henry Frederic, the Viſcount de Turenne's uncle, begging he would write to Louis XIII, in his favour; but the Prince of Orange's Letter had very little effect, and Cinqmars's cabal ſtill prevailed. The Cardinal, arriving at Narbonne, fell ſick there, and the King continued his journey towards Perpignan. Richelieu, violently afflicted with ſickneſs, was ſtill more ſo with The Duke of Bouillon commands in Italy.

An. 1642. the conſtant apprehenſion he had that Cinqmars would take advantage of his abſence, to finiſh his ruin with the King. In this uneaſineſs of mind, he made himſelf be carried, though in an extremely weak and languiſhing condition, from Narbonne to Taraſcon, a town the Governor of which was devoted to him. There, devoured by anxieties, and plunged into the blackeſt melancholy, he loſt that preſence of mind, and that reſolution which had always ſupported him. This great Miniſter, who had obliged the Queen to retire out of France, humbled the grandees, cruſhed hereſy, reduced the power of Spain, checked the conqueſts of the Emperor, and engaged the attention of all the Princes of Europe, fell into the condition of a man weak, helpleſs and fearful, who has no expedient left to prevent approaching ruin, nor courage to look it in the face.

Richelieu diſcovers the treaty with Spain.

He was ſinking under his weakneſs, when an unforeſeen accident ſuddenly raiſed him again: in this critical moment he diſcovered the ſecret treaty made with Spain. It was never well known, who did the Miniſter this important ſervice, but it is certain that he received a copy of that treaty when he had not the leaſt thought of it. He read it with tranſport, and found in it the following articles: * That, in order to put an end to a long and bloody war, equally fatal to France, Spain, the Empire and all Chriſtendom, and to oblige the moſt Chriſtian King to make a peace, advantageous to the two Crowns, his Catholic Majeſty ſhould furniſh his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Orleans, and two of his friends, with 12,000 foot and 5000 horſe: that as ſoon as his Royal Highneſs ſhould be retired into a fortified place, on which he had fixed by agreement with his two friends, his Catholic Majeſty ſhould furniſh him with 400,000 crowns to make all the preparations for the war, and

* See Vittorio Siri's Memoirs of this year.

100,000

100,000 florins monthly for maintaining the neceſ- An. 1642.
ſary troops: that his Royal Highneſs ſhould com-
mand that army; and his two friends be named Ma-
jor Generals by the Emperor, with a penſion of
8000 florins a month: that the Imperial army in
Flanders, and that of the Spaniards commanded by
the Duke of Orleans, ſhould join for the mutual aſ-
ſiſtance of each other: that the King of Spain and
the Duke of Orleans ſhould neither of them make
peace with France without the conſent of the other;
and laſtly, that the place of retreat and the two Lords
ſhould be named after the ratification of the above
articles. At the end of this treaty was found a poſt-
ſcript, in which it was declared that the place intend-
ed was SEDAN; and that the two perſons united
with the Duke of Orleans, were the DUKE of BOU-
ILLON, and the MASTER OF THE HORSE.

As ſoon as the Cardinal had made this important diſcovery, he diſpatched Chavigni, Secretary of State, to the King, to deliver him a copy of the treaty, ſhew him all the fatal conſequences of this dangerous conſpiracy, and exaggerate the baſeneſs of Cinqmar's ingratitude. The King having fallen ſick before Perpignan, had ordered himſelf to be carried to Narbonne, and was beginning to recover his ſtrength, when Chavigni arrived. This conſpiracy made ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of Louis XIII. that he immediately changed his affection for Cinqmars into hatred, and his averſion for the Cardinal into kindneſs, being deeply ſenſible of the perfidiouſneſs of the former, and the need he had of the latter. The King gave orders for ſeizing Cinqmars, and at the ſame time de Thou, whom his intimate union with the Maſter of the Horſe rendered ſuſpected. He ordered them to be conducted to the caſtle of Pierre-enciſe, and notwithſtanding his weakneſs, was himſelf removed to Taraſcon. The Duke of Orleans having heard this news, to a-

Cinqmars and de Thou committed to priſon.

An. 1642. void expoſing himſelf to the King's reſentment and the Miniſter's revenge, revealed the whole ſecret: he excuſed his not being able to produce the original of the treaty, becauſe he had burnt it; but delivered a copy of it ſigned with his own hand, and counter-ſigned by the ſecretary of his diſpatches. The Cardinal, furniſhed with a piece ſo deciſive for the total ruin of his enemies, gave directions for proceeding againſt them.

Impriſonment of the Duke of Bouillon.

The moment Cinqmars was arreſted, and before the matter made any noiſe, the Court had ſent orders into Piedmont to ſecure the perſon of the Duke of Bouillon. Thoſe who received theſe orders, durſt not ſignify their commiſſion to him at the head of an army where he was much beloved, but deferred the execution of it till the next Day, when he was to go to Caſal. He was there arreſted, and from thence carried to Pierre-enciſe. The very day he arrived at Pierre-enciſe, his friends privately conveyed a letter to him, informing him of all that had happened. He was moved with extreme indignation, to find that not only Fontrailles had promiſed the King of Spain, on the part of Gaſton, that the Duke of Bouillon ſhould enter into the treaty, and let them have Sedan for a place of ſafety; but that without his knowledge, they had obtained a penſion for him from Philip IV. Fontrailles, to juſtify himſelf as to this fraud, had afterwards the aſſurance to inſiſt upon it, that the Duke of Bouillon had been the firſt projector of the treaty with Spain: but the proceedings againſt the Duke, in which we find him perfectly cleared from that accuſation, as alſo the letters he wrote to the Queen and to Gaſton after the death of the King and the Cardinal, fully demonſtrate the contrary *.

Cinqmars and de Thou beheaded.

In the mean time, the Chancellor Seguier prepared with all diligence for the proſecution of the priſoners. Cinqmars and de Thou were condemned to

* See the vouchers at the end, N. 6.

loſe their heads, the one as the author of the treaty with Spain, the other for having been privy to it and not having revealed it; they died with great intrepidity and ſentiments of real piety. An. 1642.

The Duke of Bouillon remained in great tranquillity of mind, through a falſe perſuaſion that he had done nothing but what became a man of honour; that it would have been inconſiſtent with that character to have diſcovered the ſecret of his friends; and that the not having ſigned any thing relating to the treaty with Spain, or impowered any other to treat for him was ſufficient to acquit him of all guilt: but when he learnt that the Preſident de Thou was condemned, and that the laws are not leſs ſevere againſt miſpriſion of treaſon than againſt treaſon itſelf, he no longer doubted of his ruin, and thought only of dying with the ſame heroic ſentiments he had ſhewn during his life. The proceedings againſt him however came to nothing: the preſſing inſtances of his uncles the Prince of Orange and the Landgrave of Heſſe in his favour, joined to thoſe of the Viſcount de Turenne, with whoſe merit the Cardinal was thoroughly acquainted, ſoftened the Miniſter: but that which moſt efficaciouſly contributed to the ſaving of this illuſtrious criminal, was the reſolute conduct of the Ducheſs of Bouillon, who threatned to deliver up Sedan to the Spaniards, in caſe her huſband was put to death. As the Cardinal had not ſo much a deſign againſt the perſon of the Duke of Bouillon, as upon his ſovereignty, he ſoon came to an accommodation with him, by which it was agreed, that the King's troops ſhould be admitted into Sedan, that his Majeſty ſhould give in exchange for that city ſeveral conſiderable eſtates in France, and while things were preparing for the execution of this exchange, the Duke of Bouillon ſhould be releaſed from priſon and retire to Turenne. The Duke of Bouillon is releaſed from priſon.

The acquiſition of Sedan, which has ever ſince The death of Richelieu and of Louis XIII.

An. 1643. remained united to the Crown, was one of the laſt advantages Cardinal Richelieu procured to France: this great Miniſter died after an eighteen years adminiſtration, in which he was leſs loved than feared, but admired by all, even by thoſe who had reaſon to hate him. Before his death he had choſen Cardinal Mazarin to ſucceed him in the Miniſtry; and his choice was approved. The King died five months after Richelieu, leaving Queen Anne of Auſtria his wife, Regent of the Kingdom during the minority of Louis XIV. who was then but four years and a half old.

An. 1643. May 14.

The Viſcount de Turenne returns into Italy.

The Queen in the very beginning of her adminiſtration, gave the Viſcount de Turrene a proof of the higheſt eſteem. The face of affairs in Italy was intirely changed: the Spaniards having been obliged to carry the principal part of their forces on the ſide of Catalonia, and being no longer able to ſuccour Prince Thomas as formerly, had bent their thoughts wholly to ſecure to themſelves the places conquered in Piedmont, by gariſoning them with their own troops, contrary to the faith of treaties. Prince Thomas ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned, and expoſed every day to ſuffer new inſults, had lent an ear to the remonſtrances of his ſiſter in law; and openly breaking with Spain, had come to an accommodation with France. The Queen Regent ſoon ſent him letters patent conſtituting him GENERAL OF THE KING'S ARMIES IN ITALY: but as no great ſtreſs could yet be laid upon his attachment, it was thought proper to have near him a man that could be depended upon: and the Viſcount de Turenne was the perſon choſen for this poſt of confidence. Prince Thomas was much taken with the converſation of the young Viſcount, and being ſenſible of his ſuperiority in the art of war, left the conduct of the army entirely to him: this he did the rather, as his own bad ſtate of health, put him out of a condition of acting.

Turenne

Turenne diſcharged all the functions of a General with as much glory as modeſty. To oblige the Spaniards to quit Piedmont, he made a feint as if he would carry the war into the Milaneſe and marched immediately to Alexandria. He inveſted this place, but yet ſo, as that the enemy might throw ſuccours into it, by the large intervals he left on purpoſe between the ſeveral quarters of his army. The Spaniards fell into the ſnare, and drew out almoſt half the garriſon of Trin, a city of Piedmont, to throw it into Alexandria, a city of the Milaneſe: then the Viſcount, who had pretended a deſign upon Alexandria only to make the enemy ungarriſon Trin, went and beſieged this latter place in form. The out-works were quickly carried: the Spaniards came and viewed the French quarters, in order, if poſſible, to throw back again into the town the troops they had drawn from it; finding that impracticable, they tried the Viſcount's own ſtratagem, feigned a deſign upon Aſti, and inveſted it, but to no purpoſe: as the Viſcount had ſtored it with every thing neceſſary for ſuſtaining a ſiege, he continued that of Trin, and took it in ſix weeks. While he was preparing to reconquer, in like manner, all the towns of Piedmont that were poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, the Queen ſent him a Marſhal of France's ſtaff. He was then but thirty two years of age.

An. 1643.

The Viſcount beſieges Alexandria, takes Trin, and is made Marſhal of France.

Sept. 24.

Such was the Viſcount de Turenne's apprenticeſhip to the profeſſion of arms, during the ſpace of ſeventeen whole years that he ſerved under different Generals before he commanded in chief. For twelve months he carried a muſket as a volunteer, was four years a Captain, four years a Colonel, * three years a Major General, and five years a Lieutenant General.

The characters given by the Viſcount of his four maſters.

* The regiment of Turenne was always kept on foot, became a ſchool for ſoldiers, and produced ſeveral Lieutenant Generals, Marſhals of France, and Officers of the greateſt ability and diſtinction.

An. 1643. Nothing does him more honour, than the acknowledgments he made of what he thought he owed to each of his maſters. He uſed to ſay, "that he "learnt from his uncle Henry Prince of Orange, "how to chooſe a camp to advantage; to attack a "town regularly; remotely to form a project, re-"volve it a long time in his thoughts, and let nothing "of it appear till the very moment of execution; "to avoid oſtentation, fill his mind with elevated "ſentiments, and have a more ardent zeal for the "intereſts of his country than for his own glory." Speaking of the Duke of Weymar, he was wont to ſay, "That he was a General who *with nothing did* "*every thing*, yet was never vain of his ſucceſs; "that when he had fallen into a misfortune, he did "not loſe time in complaining, but wholly ap-"plied his thoughts how to get out of it; that he "choſe rather to be unjuſtly blamed than to excuſe "himſelf at the expence of his friends who had not "performed well in the action; that he was more "intent upon repairing his faults than making "uſeleſs apologies; and laſtly, that he was much "fonder of being loved than feared by the ſol-"diers." He had obſerved under Cardinal de la Valette, "That a General who would be agree-"able to his army, muſt, upon going into the "field, renounce the falſe delicacies of a court "life, gallantry, the amuſements of wit and ima-"gination, and live with the officers after their fa-"ſhion, without ceremony and without affectation." By ſeeing the conduct of the Count d'Harcourt he was confirmed in Cæſar's grand maxim, "That "of all the military virtues diligence and expedition "are the moſt eſſential, and that they ſeldom fail "to carry ſucceſs along with them, when they are "accompanied with prudence and circumſpection.

The END of the FIRST BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE Viſcount de TURENNE.

BOOK the SECOND.

AFTER the death of Louis XIII. the Duke of Bouillon had left Turenne and gone to court, where he was ſo favourably received by the Queen, that it was concluded he would fill the firſt poſts in the ſtate; nevertheleſs he afterwards found, not only the Queen, but even the Duke of Orleans, to whoſe intereſt he had ſacrificed himſelf, grow more and more cool towards him. Cardinal Mazarin, jealous of his abilities, endeavoured to tire him out with the difficulties he ſtarted concerning the exchange of Sedan, and the preſervation of his rank. The Duke could not conceal his reſentments; ſo that Mazarin fearing leſt he ſhould ſeek revenge, propoſed, in open council, to ſeize his perſon; but the Duke having notice of the Miniſter's deſign, returned in haſte to Turenne, and reſolved to leave the Kingdom without delay. Whilſt he was conſidering into what country he ſhould retire, to ſcreen himſelf from the ill treatment of Mazarin, Pope Urban VIII. offered him, by an Italian Prelate, the poſt of Generaliſſimo of the troops of the Church, in the war called Barberine:

An. 1644. The Duke of Bouillon returns to the court, and ſoon after leaves France.

An. 1644. berine *: he accepted the offer, and went to Rome; and the jealouſy and injuſtice of the Cardinal followed him thither. The Ambaſſador of France, who had ſent word to Paris, that the Duke of Bouillon was going to be treated as a Sovereign Prince in the public ceremonies at Rome, received orders to oppoſe it, under pretence that the Duke had been deprived of his ſovereignty during his impriſonment at Pierre-enciſe. The Duke repreſented to the Pope, that he ſtill enjoyed the ſame rights as before, with the King's conſent; and that his Majeſty held Sedan by the ſame title that he held Caſal, the property of which was ſtill in the Duke of Mantua: Cardinal Barbarini anſwered, "That the Court "of Rome, always circumſpect in its proceedings, "was accuſtomed, before it allowed the titles "claimed by foreign Princes, to examine whe-"ther they were due to them or not:" And he therefore deſired the Duke to conſent, that an enquiry ſhould be made into the rights of his family. The commiſſioners appointed to examine the archives of the Vatican, after a long ſearch, produced ſeveral authentic records, by which it † appeared, that the Moſt Chriſtian King, his Catholic Majeſty, and the Emperor had treated the Princes of Sedan as Sovereign Princes. The Duke, upon this report, was acknowledged as ſuch; the honours due to that rank were paid him in the public ceremonies, as well as in private; and the Pope even gave him the arm-chair.

The Viſcount de Turenne goes to command in Germany.

The ſplendor with which the Duke of Bouillon appeared at Rome, made Cardinal Mazarin, who

* The Cardinals Anthony and Francis Barberini, nephews of Pope Urban VIII. propoſed to the Duke of Parma, to ſell them ſome of the lands of Caſtro, which were near theirs: this offer was rejected, and the Barberini preſſed their uncle to revenge it, by revoking certain rights which the Popes had granted to the Farneſes. The Duke enraged at this, took up arms, declared war againſt the Holy See, and entered into a league with the Venetians, and the Dukes of Modena and Tuſcany, againſt the Eccleſiaſtical State. Cardinal Anthony raiſed troops, and the Pope deſired the Duke of Bouillon to be their Captain-General.

† See the memoirs of Chauſour, as cited by M. Baluſe.

was not acquainted with the character of the Viſ- An. 1644.
count de Turenne, apprehenſive that it might be dangerous to leave this General longer in Italy, ſo near a brother who was diſſatisfied and provoked; and he ſent him to gather up the remains of the Weymarian army in Germany. The Marſhal de Guébriant, who was lately † dead of a wound received at the ſiege of ‖ Rotweil, had been General of that army for four years; and the Count de Rantzau, his ſucceſſor, had brought it near Dutlingen, a city of Suabia on the Danube, where Count * Merci, the General of the Bavarian troops, ſurprized him, beat him, and made him priſoner, with moſt of the General Officers, and almoſt all his troops, except between five and ſix thouſand horſe, which eſcaped to this ſide of the Rhine. With theſe remains of the Rout, the banks of that river were to be defended againſt the armies of the Emperor and the Dukes of Bavaria and Lorrain, who had united in hopes of making their advantage of the defeat of the French; and to add to theſe misfortunes, Torſtenſon, whom Queen Chriſtina had ſent to command the Swedes in Germany, after the death of General Banier, was gone into Holſtein, without giving any notice of his departure. Such was the melancholy ſtate of affairs in Germany, when the Viſcount de Turenne had orders to repair thither. The Cardinal forced him to leave the triumphant army in Italy, to go and collect troops which were defeated, diſperſed, and without either leader, arms, or money. The Viſcount was by this fully convinced of the ill diſpoſitions of the Miniſter towards him and his houſe: yet far from ſhewing any reſentment he ſeemed content, and conſidered his new employment as an opportunity of increaſing his

† He died the 24th of November 1643.
‖ An Imperial city at the ſource of the Neckar.
* Francis de Merci, a Gentleman of Lorrain, and native of Longuy in the Barrois.

glory,

An. 1644. glory, by ſurmounting the difficulties he ſhould meet with in the diſcharge of it. He ſet out for Alſace, and arrived at Colmar in December 1643. As the enemy had left the field, he made it his firſt concern to provide good quarters for his troops: he drew them out of Alſace, which was ruined, and marched them into the mountains of Lorrain, there to ſpend the winter. This army was in a general want of every thing; in order to ſupply their wants the more ſpeedily, Turenne, before the Court ſent him any remittance, borrowed conſiderable ſums upon his own credit, and whilſt moſt of the great men in the kingdom were ſelling the ſmalleſt ſervices they did the crown, at a very high price, he remounted 5000 Troopers, and cloathed 4000 foot, which made the whole of the King's army, at his own expence. It was ſcarce poſſible to undertake any thing of importance with ſo ſmall a number; nevertheleſs the Viſcount, as ſoon as the ſpring began, formed a deſign of ſurprizing General Merci's brother: knowing that he was poſted with 2000 horſe beyond the Black Foreſt in Hutingen, near the ſprings of the Danube, he advanced towards the Rhine, and paſſed it at Briſac.

His generoſity to d'Erlac Governor of Briſac.

D'Erclac, the Governor of that place, had abandoned it at the Viſcount's approach, and informed him by letter, that the reaſon of his leaving the city, which he delivered into his hands, was a perſuaſion that the Court ſuſpected his fidelity. The Viſcount, who knew the merit of this Officer, far from taking advantage of his weakneſs, and ſeizing his Government, ſent Tracy, one of their common friends, to him, to deſire him to return immediately and reaſſume his employment. When Turenne had reinſtated d'Erlac, and removed his apprehenſions, he continued his march towards the head of the Danube, and cauſed Gaſpar Baron de Merci to be attacked by four or five regiments, who defeated his cavalry, and took three or four

four hundred ſoldiers priſoners, with many Officers: the reſt eſcaped to the Bavarian army commanded by Count Merci, the Baron's brother. An. 1644.

In the mean time, the ſeveral powers of Europe were mediating a general peace. It was now near five and twenty years that the fatal religious war, kindled by the troubles in Bohemia, had continued in the Empire, and had ſucceſſively put all the States of Chriſtendom into a flame: it had been attended with ſuch various ſucceſs, that both parties were at length grown weary of it; all the Princes and States of the Empire had, for three years paſt, unanimouſly cried out for peace. The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, who were the moſt ardent for it, had prevailed on the Kings of England and Denmark to offer their mediation to the Proteſtant Princes; and Pope Urban VIII. had offered his to the Catholic. The Emperor had come to Ratisbon, and there called a Diet of the Empire, to deliberate on the moſt proper means to put an end to the war. Long diſputes had ariſen about the place for holding the congreſs; and at length it had been agreed, by a treaty ſigned at Hamburgh in 1641, that the negotiations ſhould be carried on both at Munſter and at Oſnabrug in Weſtphalia; that France ſhould treat at Munſter, and Sweden at Oſnabrug; that each of theſe two Crowns ſhould have a Reſident in the city where the other ſhould have its Plenipotentiaries, in order mutually to communicate their reſolutions to each other; and laſtly, that the two treaties being conſidered only as one, neither of the two Crowns ſhould make peace till the other was ſatisfied. From that time all Europe conceived hopes of an approaching peace; and the congreſs was to have been opened in March 1642. But Cardinal Richelieu, not thinking that France could yet gain advantages enough by a peace, had affectedly retarded it, by carrying his Maſter's pretenſions too high, Preparations for the Congreſs of Munſter.

An. 1644. high, the hoſtilites continued, the French and Swedes united, and the peace was poſtponed. Upon the death of Richelieu, the conferences were renewed, and the defeat of the French army in Germany, after the death of Marſhal de Guébriant, determined Cardinal Mazarin to ſend Plenipotentiaries to Munſter. The perſons choſen for this employment were two of the ableſt men in France for negotiations, the Counts d'Avaux and Servien, whoſe characters were very oppoſite; theſe Miniſters diſputing about precedence, the Duke de Longueville was ſent to remove all cauſes of diſſention between them; and to give a greater weight to the embaſſy, by placing a Prince at the head of it. There had not been any negotiation for ſeveral ages, in which ſo many Monarchs, Princes and Sovereign States were intereſted, and ſo many able politicians employed. The congreſs was at length opened about the end of April in this year.

The Viſcount marches to relieve Fribourg.

* In May the Bavarian army, after it had been refreſhed by good quarters, and augmented to the number of 8000 foot and 7000 horſe, beſieged Fribourg, which is five leagues from Briſac. The Viſcount de Turenne marched in all haſte to relieve it with his army, which was only 10000 men, and came up with the enemy in a plain near it. General Merci did not expect this ſudden march, and had only had time to open the trenches, and not enough to ſeize the advantageous poſts in the neighbourhood. The Viſcount perceived this defect, and flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to gain ſome advantages by it, notwithſtanding the inequality of his forces. Obſerving that the Bavarians had not taken poſſeſſion of a mountain called the Black Mountain, which commanded the plain; he or-

* I here blend M. de Turenne's account with the narrative of the campaign of Fribourg, by the Marquis de la Mouſſaye, as retouched by la Chapelle.

dered

dered a battalion of two regiments, which made 1500 men, to march thither, and advanced with the reſt of his infantry to ſupport them. Upon this motion the enemy detached twenty men, who climbed up to the top of the mountain, on the oppoſite ſide; and upon their firſt fire, the French, believing that all the enemies infantry were there, inſtead of mounting up, marched along the ſide of it: upon the ſecond fire they gave way, and ran down with precipitation; this diſorder gave Merci an opportunity to ſeize the mountain, and Turenne encamped on a little eminence, in ſight of the enemy, who continued the ſiege. After ſome ſkirmiſhes, and an engagement between the cavalry, wherein ſeven or eight hundred Bavarian horſe were defeated, upon advice that the city was capitulating, he reſolved to run no more hazards to relieve it, and retired a league and an half from Fribourg. An. 1644. July 28.

The Court being informed that the King's army was too weak to attack the Imperialiſts, ordered Louis de Bourbon Duke d'Enguien to join the Viſcount de Turenne. The Duke had already made himſelf known: Rocroi had ſeen him, at twenty two years of age, put a ſtop to the rapid march of the Spaniards, till then victorious, and cut in pieces their formidable infantry. By this glorious action he had merited, yet more than by his birth, to command in chief the French troops ordered into Germany to oppoſe the progreſs of Count Merci. The Bavarian General, beſides other great talents, had, in an eminent degree, the arts of ſecuring himſelf againſt ſurprize, of penetrating into the deſigns of the enemy, and of making up for the want of numbers by encamping to advantage. To cope with ſuch an enemy required Enguien or Turenne: the Prince and the Viſcount were of different characters, but being both animated by the ſame zeal for the publick good, they always united in the

The Duke d'Enguien joins the Viſcount de Turenne near Fribourg.

An. 1644. ſame ſchemes, and nothing could diſturb the harmony between them.

The Duke d'Enguien arrives at the Viſcount's camp and holds a council of war there.

The Duke d'Enguien was at Amblemont, near Mouzon, when he received orders to ſet out for Germany; in 13 days march he came near Briſac, with 10000 men; and leaving to * Marſin the care of paſſing the Rhine with them, he and the Marſhal de Gramont advanced to the Viſcount's camp, where he held a council of war, as ſoon as he arrived. Turenne, who perfectly well underſtood the ſtate of the Bavarians, was for marching the army by Langendentzling and the valley of Bloterthal, to the valley of St. Pierre, in order to intercept the enemies proviſions, which could come only from Villingen, two leagues from the head of the Danube, beyond the mountains of the Black Foreſt; adding, that it was as eaſy to ſtarve them, as it would be dangerous to attack them in a camp fortified by all the advantages of ſituation, and defended by veteran troops, commanded by the greateſt General in Germany. D'Erlac and the Marſhal de Gramont were of the ſame opinion: the Duke d'Enguien alone was abſolutely for attacking the enemy in their entrenchments: he went himſelf to reconnoitre the Bavarian camp, and neighbouring places, with the Viſcount, who ſhewed him a narrow paſs, where a part of the army might take the enemy in the left flank, while the reſt attacked them in front, and in the right flank.

The number of the King's troops, and the Situation of the Bavarian Camp.

The King's troops, of which the Duke d'Enguien was Generaliſſimo, were divided into two Bodies; one, called the army of France, conſiſted of 6000 foot and 4000 horſe, commanded by the Marſhal de Gramont; the other, called the Weymarian army, conſiſting of 5000 foot and 5000 horſe, under the Viſcount de Turenne. The Bavarian army amounted

* John-Gaſpard-Ferdinand, a Lord of Liege, afterwards a Count of the Empire, and Knight of the Order of the Garter in *England*.

to above 15000 men, but it was incamped in a place almoſt inacceſſible, at a little diſtance from Fribourg. This city ſtands at the foot of the mountains of the Black Foreſt, which open in the form of a creſcent, on one ſide by the valley of St. Pierre, and on the other by the valley of Bloterthal; and both theſe terminate near a mountain, called the Abby of the valley of St. Pierre. Before Fribourg is a little plain, watered by a rivulet. It is bounded on the right by ſteep Mountains, and on the left by marſhy woods, through which there is only one very narrow road from Briſac to Fribourg. In this advantageous ſituation General Merci was poſted: his camp, which filled the little plain, was extended along the ſide of the rivulet, and fortified with a ſtrong entrenchment; he had Fribourg behind him, and an eminence before him. On the declivity of this eminence, towards the French, he raiſed and palliſaded a fort, where he poſted 600 men, with the artillery: from thence he carried on a line by the wood, mounting towards the ſummit of the hill, which line he defended with redoubts at 200 paces diſtance from each other; and to make the acceſs to it the more difficult, he felled all along the ſide of it, a great many trees, whoſe branches being ſo cut, as to point every way, anſwered the purpoſes of chevaux-de-friſe. Between the eminence, which was at the head of the enemy's camp, and the mountains to the left, as you come from Fribourg, was the defile by which Merci might be attacked in flank, but it could not be come at without taking a great compaſs. Merci had blocked up their entrance into his camp with felled fir-trees: he had alſo lined the woods which were to the right and left with his infantry, and imagined that no body would ever attempt a paſſage which he thought he had rendered impracticable. An. 1644.

The diſpoſition for the attack of Merci's camp.

This ſituation of the enemy's camp, made the council of war once more debate the expediency of attacking

An. 1644. attacking it; but the Duke d'Enguien perſiſted in his opinion: and being fully perſuaded that nothing could withſtand him, he reſolved to go himſelf with the army of France, to drive the Bavarians from the mountain, gain the eminence, and then fall down on their camp, whilſt the Viſcount ſhould go with the Weymarian troops, to take the enemy in flank, by the way of the defile. And as he muſt neceſſarily march a great way round, it was agreed, that the Prince ſhould not begin his attack till three hours before ſun-ſet, that the Viſcount might make his at the ſame time.

The firſt engagement.

Turenne ſet out the third of Auguſt, by break of day; and whilſt he was marching round the mountains, the Duke d'Enguien prepared for his attack, in this manner. His infantry conſiſted of ſix battalions of 800 men each: Eſpenan, * Marſhal de Camp, was detached with two battalions to begin the charge; the Count de Tournon put himſelf at the head of the regiments of Conti and Mazarin, to ſuſtain Eſpenan; the Duke d'Enguien reſerved two regiments to be employed as occaſion ſhould require; the Marſhal de Gramont and the Count de Marſin continued near his perſon; the Count || de Palluau, ſince Marſhal de Clerembault, ſupported the whole attack with Enguien's regiment of horſe; and the gendarmes were poſted at the entrance into the plain, in a very narrow place, to hinder the Bavarians from taking the infantry in flank. At the hour agreed on by the two Generals, the young Prince attacked the mountain with his infantry. In order to get to the enemy, they were forced to climb a very ſteep aſcent, croſs a vineyard, in which there were, at certain diſtances, walls of four foot high to ſupport the earth. The detachment courageouſly

* Roger de Boſſolt, Count d'Eſpenan, of the province of Bigorre, ſince nominated to be a Knight of the Holy Ghoſt.

|| Philip de Clerembault, Count de Palluau, was made Marſhal of France nine years after, in 1653.

marched

marched up, drove the enemy from thoſe terraſſes, and puſhed them to the fence of felled trees, which was before their trenches: nevertheleſs the Bavarians made ſo great a fire, that the French infantry could not force this fence, without the loſs of a great many men, and even without breaking their ranks. The Duke d'Enguien, who had drawn near to ſee the event of this attack, obſerved that his firſt line was at a ſtand, neither advancing nor retiring; he ſtrait diſmounted, put himſelf at the head of the regiment of Conti, and marched up to the enemy ſword in hand. The Count de Tournon, the Marſhal Gramont, and the chief officers and volunteers, diſmounted likewiſe; their example gave new courage to the ſoldiers: the Duke d'Enguien advancing the foremoſt, they all followed him, forced the barricade, and threw themſelves in crowds over the enemies trenches. The Bavarians fled into the neighbouring woods; the French infantry left their ranks to purſue them; but the Duke d'Enguien inſtantly rallied them, and poſted ſoldiers in the redoubts which he had juſt gained. Immediately after, notwithſtanding the difficulties of the way, he made the cavalry mount, and ſo poſſeſſed himſelf of the eminence, after a battle of three hours, which had coſt Merci above 3000 men. The day was now cloſed; the Bavarians were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the palliſaded fort, where their artillery was planted, and the runaways, who were diſperſed in the wood, might aſſemble again, or lay in ambuſh: Enguien therefore durſt not go further, and he contented himſelf with informing the Viſcount, by his trumpets and kettle-drums, that the French had gained the top of the mountain, reſolving to wait for the day, before he marched down into the plain. An. 1644.

Turenne had made his attack at the ſame hour as the Duke: after he had forced the entrance into the paſs, he was obliged to fight every ſtep he

An. 1644. took, in order to diſlodge the infantry, who were poſted to the right and left, and entrenched behind felled trees; but he preſſed the enemy ſo vigorouſly, that he made himſelf maſter of the defile, and forced his paſſage over the ditches and hollow-ways which ran acroſs it, into the plain, about the cloſe of the day. The Duke d'Enguien had juſt then put a ſtop to the battle on his ſide, and Merci therefore turned his chief ſtrength againſt the Viſcount: the troops engaged in fight were at forty paces diſtance, firing with great fury on both ſides; a great deal of rain fell, and the darkneſs of the night increaſed the horrors of a place, which had no light but what came from the continual fire of the muſkets. The action laſted near ſeven hours; and notwithſtanding the prodigious efforts of the Bavarians, the Viſcount kept the ground he had gained, though the enemy's infantry was ſupported by all their cavalry, and his had only one ſquadron behind them, for want of room to draw up in battalia. General Merci having here likewiſe loſt 3000 men, turned his thoughts wholly to ſave the reſt of his army, by a retreat; the darkneſs of the night favoured his deſign, and his troops ſtole away, whilſt ſome ranks of musketeers, who were left upon the place, made a continual fire. As ſoon as it was day theſe fled; and Turenne finding nothing to oppoſe him, marched out into the plain, where the Duke d'Enguien, who came down from the mountain, ſoon joined him. The enemy had halted, at a league's diſtance, upon the Black Mountain, which is near Fribourg, and were beginning to entrench themſelves there. Could the King's infantry have marched after them immediately, they might have ſurprized them in great diſorder; but being no leſs fatigued with the rains, than with fighting, and having loſt a great number of officers and ſoldiers, they wanted a day's reſt; and the Duke poſtponed attacking the

the enemy, in their new trenches, till the next day *. An. 1644.

There is a level piece of ground, one third of the way up the Black Mountain, (which ſtands between Fribourg and the plain, where the enemy had encamped the firſt day,) large enough to contain three or four thouſand men drawn up in battalia. Merci, with his uſual judgment, improved every advantage the place afforded him; poſted the greateſt body of his infantry at the edge of this flat, placed the reſt behind a wood, about the middle of the mountain, and extended his cavalry from that wood to the walls of the city. The lines made for the ſiege of Fribourg ſerved to incloſe this new camp on that ſide, and the bottom of the mountain, towards the plain, was fortified with ſeveral rows of felled trees; ſo that his right wing was defended by the canon of the city, and his left by the mountain. The Duke d'Enguien reſolved to make two attacks at the ſame time; one on the trenches, the other on the fence of trees; and between theſe to make a falſe attack with a few men only, purely to favour the true ones.

The ſecond engagement of Fribourg.

The next day, which was the fifth of Auguſt, the Viſcount appeared early, with the advanced guard, at the foot of the mountain; the Prince's army followed him, and was to poſt it ſelf ſo, as that the two attacks might be made at the ſame time. Juſt when they were going to begin, a great tumult was obſerved among the Bavarians: the Duke and the Viſcount immediately aſcended a neighbouring mountain, in order to diſcover the true cauſe of it; and as they paſſed by, forbad their officers to attempt any thing in their abſence. But notwithſtanding theſe orders, Eſpenan commanded a detachment to attack a redoubt which was in his way: the ſoldiers engaged; and as faſt as the Bavarians

* This firſt action was on the third of Auguſt.

An. 1644. ſent to ſupport thoſe who were on the defenſive, Eſpenan reinforced the aſſailants. In the midſt of the engagement, which grew more and more general, a terrible diſcharge of the enemy's canon and muſketry ſerved for a ſignal to the French, who advanced on all ſides, without order or leader. The Bavarians, emboldened by this their confuſion, ruſhed out of their lines, fell upon them, and utterly routed them: the Prince and Viſcount galloped thither in all haſte, but in vain attempted to rally them; the fright had ſeized the officers as well as the ſoldiers. When the Prince found he could not bring on his troops again to the charge, he immediately changed his plan; at the place where the attack had failed, he left only a few men to amuſe the enemy, and reſolved to bend all his ſtrength to the ſide of the plain. Enguien and Turenne, with the whole body of the infantry, ſupported by the gendarmes and Weymarian cavalry, marched directly to the fence of trees. The attack and the defence were equally vigorous: the French drove the enemy ſeveral times from their entrenchments, and were themſelves as often repulſed. Gaſpard Merci, to ſupport his infantry, who began to give way, made his cavalry diſmount: the conflict was renewed with fury; and could not have ended without a terrible ſlaughter, if the ſudden approach of night had not obliged the aſſailants to retire, without having been able to force the enemy. It coſt the French 2000 foot, and the Bavarians 1200, who, at the ſame time, loſt Gaſpard Merci their General's brother: but as the latter had loſt half their infantry in the firſt action, the Duke d'Enguien's army was ſtill ſuperior to that of Merci; and the Prince prepared for a third engagement. The French continued in preſence of the enemy, in a camp covered with blood, heaps of dead and dying. This moving ſight affected the compaſſionate Viſcount; he viſited

viſited in perſon the field of battle, and cauſed the wounded, without diſtinction of friends and enemies, to be taken up and carried to Briſac. In the heat of battle, and in the midſt of ſlaughter, humanity was ever in him the baſis of heroiſm. An. 1644.

The third engagement of Fribourg.

The Duke d'Enguien, after he had reſted his troops four days, thought proper to change his ſcheme. As the Bavarians could retire to Villingen no other way but by the valley of St. Pierre, he marched his army towards Langendentzling, in order to paſs through the valley of Bloterthal, at the ſame time that the enemy ſhould enter that of St. Pierre, and to intercept them at the Abby, where the two vallies terminate. Early on the morning, the ninth of Auguſt, the Viſcount de Turenne marched with the Weymarian troops, and the Duke d'Enguien kept with his in the enemy's preſence, till the Viſcount had paſſed the marſhes, woods, and the rivulets of Treiſſam; then the Prince rejoined him at Langendentzling, the Bavarians not making the leaſt attempt to diſpute the paſſage with him. Merci having obſerved the march of the French, immediately ſaw through the Prince's deſign, and judged that his ſafety depended on preventing it by a ſpeedy retreat. As ſoon therefore as he ſaw the rear-guard of the French begin to move, he decamped his army, which was reduced to between ſix and ſeven thouſand men, and took his way over * the eminences that commanded the valley of St. Pierre. At the ſame time the Duke d'Enguien marched with great diligence through the valley of Bloterthal: but fearing leſt his troops, which were extremely fatigued, ſhould not be able to come up with the enemy ſoon enough, he ſent Roſen forwards with only 800 horſe, to retard the Bavarians, by harraſſing them in their retreat, whilſt the reſt of the army advanced to intercept them.

* Mem. MS. of M. de Turenne.

An. 1644. Roſen * attacked their rear-guard in a plain near the Abby of the valley of St. Pierre, and routed a part of the Bavarian infantry; but the main body of their army returning upon him, he was forced to retire fighting in confuſion, and mingled with the enemy. The Viſcount, who was with the van-guard, appeared then on a neighbouring eminence: As ſoon as the Bavarian horſe perceived him, they halted for fear of being ſurrounded. Merci retired about twelve or fifteen hundred paces from the place of action, into a wood, where he left his canon and baggage, and from thence marched with ſuch expedition over the mountains, that the French army loſt ſight of him in a moment. The Duke d'Enguien purſued him as far as Holgrave, and the Viſcount de Turenne two leagues farther; but the badneſs of the roads hindered their continuing the purſuit, and the Bavarians ſoon reached the country of Wirtemberg, whither it was not thought proper to follow them.

Thus ended the famous action of Fribourg, in which the Bavarians loſt between eight and nine thouſand men, with their artillery, and almoſt all their horſes: the loſs of the French was likewiſe very great: but as Merci had been forced to decamp, the honour of victory was given to the Duke d'Enguien. Nevertheleſs, the glory of the vanquiſhed was little inferior to that of the victors; the well conducted retreat of Merci, in preſence of an army that preſſed hard upon him, was not leſs honourable than the Prince's victory, who had ſurmounted all the obſtacles of nature and art, in order to attack him.

* Reinholt Roſen, Lord of Groſropp, deſcended from one of the beſt families in Livonia; after he had ſerved under the great Guſtavus, followed the fortunes of the Duke of Weymar, who left him the command of the Swediſh horſe, and named him, by his will, one of the directors of the army, with the Counts de Naſſau, Erlach and Ohem. He died without iſſue male, and gave his daughter, with a conſiderable fortune, to Conrad Roſen de Kleinropp, who afterwards became a Marſhal of France, and a Knight of the order of the Holy Ghoſt.

Enguien

Enguien returned towards Langendentzling, and poſted himſelf near the ſame camp from whence he had come: there he deliberated how to make the greateſt advantage of the retreat of the Bavarians. The chief officers were for retaking Fribourg; the Viſcount de Turenne was of a different opinion: he repreſented, that as the Bavarian army was now twenty leagues off, and could not draw near them again, for want of forage and proviſions, they ought to ſeize that opportunity of making themſelves maſters of the whole courſe of the Rhine, and even of the Palatinate, and not confine themſelves to the reducing of one ſingle town, which would take up all the remainder of their time: and that by this means they might cloſe the campaign, which had hitherto been doubtful, with a very important conqueſt. The Duke d'Enguien, who was always ready for great undertakings, approved this ſcheme, and propoſed the ſiege of Philipſbourg. It was no eaſy enterprize; it was neceſſary to make a long march to get at it; the infantry was diminiſhed, money was ſcarce, and proviſions at a great diſtance: but the Prince made light of all theſe difficulties, and the ſiege was reſolved on. The Viſcount de Turenne went himſelf to Briſac, concerted with the Governor the means of carrying all neceſſaries for the ſiege down the Rhine, and then returned to the camp. The army decamped on the ſixteenth of Auguſt: the Duke d'Enguien marched along the Rhine, by the Marquiſate of Baden: he detached Tubal and Roſen with part of the Weymarian cavalry, and ſome foot and dragoons, to ſeize ſeveral forts or caſtles, and ſome little walled towns which were in their way. On the twenty third of Auguſt, the Viſcount de Turenne with 3000 horſe and 700 foot inveſted Philipſburg, and the Duke d'Enguien arrived the next day, after a ten day's march.

An. 1644.

The Duke d'Enguien returns to his camp and reſolves to attack Philipsbourg.

The

An. 1644. The fortifications of this place, which ſtood on the Rhine, were not then faced: it had ſeven baſtions, the ramparts of which were *fraiſed* and palliſaded; round the whole was a *berm*, defended by a very thick quickſet hedge: the ditch was wide, deep, and full of water; and a ſquare fort, which commanded the Rhine, at the diſtance of 800 paces from the town, had a communication with it by a cauſeway. On one ſide, the river made a great elbow, and formed many moraſſes; on the other there was nothing but heath, wood, and ploughed lands; ſo that the approach could only be made one way. The garriſon ſcarce exceeded 800 foot, and 200 horſe; but Bamberg, an officer of great reputation, who was Governor of the place, had a 100 pieces of canon, and ammunition enough to hold out a long ſiege.

The ſituation, ſtrength and garriſon of Philipſbourg.

After the Duke d'Enguien had viewed the ground about the town, he ſpent the reſt of the day in taking his poſts, and prepared for attacking the fort of the Rhine in the night. The French army took up their quarters from Knaudenheim to a rivulet which divided the plain; and the Weymarian army was poſted from this rivulet to Rhinhauſen. As ſoon as it was night, the troops began their march towards the fort: the Duke fetched a compaſs round the woods, and the Viſcount approached it by little banks that ran croſs the moraſs. Bamberg, not having infantry enough, had withdrawn thoſe that were to have defended the fort, from thence into Philipſbourg; ſo that Turenne, who arrived firſt, finding it abandoned, ſeized it, and ſupplied it with every thing neceſſary to guard it againſt any attack from the town.

The Duke d'Enguien fixes his quarters round the town.

Then the Duke d'Enguien made it his ſole buſineſs to ſecure his circumvallation: he raiſed forts and redoubts where the ground would admit of it, and felled a great number of trees in the marſhes to ſtop

He ſecures and fortifies his lines.

top up all the roads. The Viſcount found leſs difficulty in fortifying his poſt; he made uſe of a hollow way, which reached almoſt from one end of his quarters to the other, and made it defenſible by raiſing a parapet before it. The circumvallation was finiſhed in four days, and the whole camp incloſed on all ſides from Knaudenheim to Rhinhauſen. An. 1644.

In the mean time the boats arrived, loaded with canon, ammunition, and proviſions. In four and twenty hours a bridge was made over-againſt Knaudenheim and Germeſheim. The taking of Germeſheim was the only thing that could ſecure the upper part of the Rhine: and as no circumvallation could be made on the other ſide of that river, it was neceſſary to ſeize all the places that commanded it. As ſoon as the bridge was finiſhed, the Duke d'Enguien ſent the Marquis d'Aumont with 600 foot and 300 horſe, to attack Germeſheim. D'Aumont made himſelf maſter of it, in two days after he had opened his trenches, and then marched to Spires. This City, which ſtands on the Rhine, was conſiderable for nothing but the Imperial * Chamber that was held there. As it was then without a garriſon, and only incloſed by a wall with common towers; and as there were no Imperial troops on that ſide, it ſurrendred on the firſt ſummons, and received a French garriſon the twenty ninth of Auguſt. He makes a bridge over the Rhine, and takes Germeſheim and Spires.

Whilſt the Marquis d'Aumont was ſeizing the places of importance on the banks of the Rhine, the Duke d'Enguien began his attacks on Philipſbourg. It has already been obſerved, that the approaches could only be carried on at one place, where the ground is ſandy, and continues of the ſame breadth quite up to the counterſcarp of two of the baſtions of the town. The Duke d'Enguien ordered two attacks to be made by this way; the Marſhal de Gramont commanded that on the He begins his attacks on Philipſbourgh.

* The Imperial Chamber was removed from Spires to Welzlar, in 1688.

left,

An. 1644. left, and the Viſcount de Turenne that on the right. In their approaches to the two baſtions, they both made uſe of about 1500 paces of the channel of a ſmall brook which runs through this plain, and whoſe ſtream they had diverted another way. The trenches were opened on the firſt of September; and the next night they made a place of arms common to both attacks, from which each ſhould carry on his approaches towards his baſtion.

The beſieged ſally and are repulſed.

Eſpenan, with the regiment of Perſan, was upon guard the firſt night, in Gramont's trenches; and after he had carried them on near 200 paces, he began a great redoubt, where he placed, at the head of the workmen, a guard of 100 gendarmes, with orders to retire, in the day time, behind the ruins of an houſe which were near the trenches. As ſoon as there was light enough for the beſieged to ſee that the ground was broken, they detached 200 foot and 100 horſe, to ruin the works which had been raiſed in the night: immediately the gendarmes appeared to oppoſe them; and though broken at the firſt ſhock, they rallied, and notwithſtanding the fire of the baſtions, drove back the enemy as far as the counterſcarp.

The attack on the ſide of the Marſhal de Gramont.

The infantry of the Duke d'Enguien's army, being reduced to 5000 men, by the battle of Fribourg, were ſcarce ſufficient to guard ſo large a circumvallation; but nevertheleſs, they not only did it, but likewiſe furniſhed men to carry on all the works of the ſiege, which were continued without interruption. The ſecond night, they carried forward the trenches on the Marſhal de Gramont's ſide, and finiſhed the redoubt: the two following nights they advanced much further, and raiſed a battery of ſix canon.

The attack on the ſide of the Viſcount de Turenne.

Neither did the Viſcount de Turenne make leſs diſpatch. The fifth night the two attacks made their lodgments on the counterſcarp, which the workmen began to pierce, at the ſame time that batteries were

were raiſed to ruin the defences of the place. After some days reſiſtance, they paſſed the ditch, and made a bridge of faſcines quite to the *berm*. Bamberg then plainly ſaw it was out of his power to prevent the filling up of the ditch; and, as his garriſon was too weak, he thought it adviſeable not to wait till the miners were ſet to work, hoping to obtain the better capitulation: he beat the chamade, hoſtages were given on both ſides, and the garriſon marched out the twelfth of September, with two pieces of canon. An. 1644.

The Viſcount de Turenne goes to attack Wormes, Oppenheim, and Ments, which ſurrender.

After the Duke d'Enguien had taken poſſeſſion of this place, he was informed that Count Merci approached. The French army weakened and fatigued, was not in a condition to fight; beſides, it was neceſſary to repair the breaches which the canon had made at Philipſbourg: the Prince therefore did not think proper to remove to a diſtance, but only chooſe his quarters along the Rhine ſo well, that the enemy could not ſuddenly deprive him of his conqueſt, or force him to a general battle. He had the river on one ſide, Philipſbourg on the other, the fort of the Rhine before, and the marſhes and woods behind him. When he was encamped in this advantageous poſt, he ordered the Viſcount de Turenne to go and attack Wormes. Duke Charles of Lorrain, to whom this city had been given, had a garriſon here, and ſince the loſs of his dominions, had ſcarce any other retreat. The Viſcount marched through the Palatinate, with all the German horſe, and 500 foot, detached Flekſtein with three regiments, to intercept 500 horſe which Colonel Savari wanted to throw into Frankendal, and continued his march towards Wormes, whoſe inhabitants drove out the Lorrainers, and opened their gates to him. From thence the Viſcount advanced towards Mentz, and ſent Roſen to ſeize Oppenheim, which ſurrendered without reſiſtance, though it had a very good caſtle to defend it. Mentz was the moſt conſiderable poſt

of

An. 1644 of any on the Rhine, on account of its communication with the country of Heſſe, and its ſituation over-againſt the mouth of the Mein, which runs at the foot of a part of its walls. Its ſtrength conſiſted rather in the number of its inhabitants, than in its citadel, whoſe fortifications were neglected. The Elector, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, had retired to Hermeſheim, and the Canons, in the abſence of the Archbiſhop, had the government in their hands. The Viſcount marched day and night without baggage, to prevent the enemy's throwing any ſuccours into Mentz, which had no other garriſon but ſome ſoldiers maintained by the Chapter. When he drew near the city, he was informed that there were, on the other ſide of the Rhine, 1000 dragoons of the Bavarian army, commanded by Colonel Wolfs, who were demanding boats to convey them into it: he therefore threatened to attack the place on all ſides, if they did not immediately order the Bavarian troops to retire. The Canons inſtantly obeyed, made the Bavarian dragoons draw off, and ſent deputies to the camp to capitulate. The Viſcount immediately ſent advice of this to the Duke d'Enguien, who came from Philipſbourg, with a guard of 400 horſe, reached Mentz in a day and an half, and ſigned the capitulation: the Chapter alſo obliged themſelves to march out the garriſon they had in Bingen, and receive French troops there. The Prince left a garriſon of 400 men in Mentz, with all things neceſſary for repairing the old fortifications, and making new ones; and being deſirous to poſſeſs himſelf of all the Palatinate on this ſide the Rhine, before he finiſhed the campaign, he detached the Marquiſs d'Aumont, to invest Landau, with 1200 foot, and 1500 horſe.

The Viſcount takes Landau.

This city, which ſtood in a plain, was then only fortified with a wall flanked with towers, with half-moons, a good ditch, and a covered way: it was defended

defended by 400 of the Lorrain troops. Whilſt d'Aumont was taking up his quarters, and beginning his works before Landau, the Duke d'Enguien returned to his army at Philipſbourg, that he might be nearer the ſiege he had ordered. Upon his arrival he was informed that the trenches were already opened, but that d'Aumont had been dangerouſly wounded. The Viſcount went to continue the ſiege, and carried on his trenches with ſo much diligence, that in three days he made a lodgment, and raiſed a battery on the counterſcarp: on the fifth day the Lorrainers treated with the Viſcount, and marched out of the place. After Landau was taken, Manheim, Neuſtadt, and ſeveral other places, made but little reſiſtance: and thus the Duke d'Enguien was, in one campaign, three times victorious over the Bavarian army, and became maſter of the Palatinate, the courſe of the Rhine, from Straſburg to Hermenſheim near Coblentz, and all the country between the Rhine and the Moſelle. An. 1644.

All the troops aſſembled at Philipſbourg, and the Prince ſet out for France about the end of October, with his army; he left only ſome new regiments of foot with the Viſcount, who ſtaid to command alone in Germany. As ſoon as the Duke d'Enguien was gone, General Merci, who had had time to recruit his army in the country of Wirtemberg, drew near the Rhine, and encamped between Heidelderg and Manheim: he fell on the latter, and when he had ſeized it, he made as if he deſigned to build a bridge there, and paſs the river with his troops, in hopes thereby to induce the King's army to cover Spires, Wormes and Mentz, which it could not do without unguarding Philipſbourg, which he intended to recover. The Viſcount repaſſed the Rhine with all his cavalry and ſome foot, marched to Spires, and immediately ſent 1000 horſe to ſecure Wormes and Mentz. A little time after the Viſcount

The Duke d'Enguien returns to France, and leaves the Viſcount de Turenne to command in Germany.

An. 1644 count was informed, that the Duke of Lorrain had paſſed the Moſelle, and inveſted Caſtelaun and Simmeren, two little places in the Hundſruck. It was to be feared that either the Duke would join Merci, and that the two Generals, when united, would come and overwhelm him all at once, or elſe, that if they acted ſeparately, one of them would ſurprize him, whilſt he was guarding againſt the attacks of the other. In this ſituation the Viſcount ſent to Court to demand a reinforcement; but was anſwered, that the troops were wanted elſewhere, and that he muſt defend himſelf as well as he could, which was all that was expected from him. Having then no farther hopes of ſuccours, he was forced to make up for his want of ſtrength by ſtratagem, and by his extraordinary activity to multiply himſelf, as it were, that he might make head on all ſides.

The Viſcount ſaves Spires, and prevents the taking of Baccarach.

The Bavarians having formed a ſecret correſpondence with ſome in Spires, detached 1200 muſketeers in boats from Manheim, up the Rhine, hoping to get them admitted into the town. But the Viſcount, who diſcovered their deſign, lined the banks of the river with infantry, hindred the boats from paſſing, and ſaved Spires. At the ſame time the Duke of Lorrain beſieged Baccarach, a place in the Palatinate, ſituated on the Rhine: Turenne took only 500 men with him, advanced near Bingen, and ſent from thence to mark out a camp near Baccarach, and get ready proviſions there: The Lorrainers thinking he was coming againſt them with a large body of troops, raiſed the ſiege with precipitation, and retired beyond the Moſelle.

He ſeizes the ſtrong Caſtle of Creutznach.

The only conſiderable place on the banks of the Rhine, of which the Viſcount was not now maſter, was the Caſtle of Creutznach, which was an important poſt: he attacked it in the beginning of December; and the garriſon of 200 men which the Bavarians

varians had left in it, after a defence of fifteen or ſix- An. 1644.
teen days, ſurrendered. Then the Viſcount, who had nothing more to fear, after he had reinforced the garriſons of all the towns newly conquered on the Rhine, ſent the reſt of his cavalry into winter quarters in Alſace and Lorrain, being perſuaded, that the want of forage would hinder General Merci from coming a ſecond time into a country which was ſo entirely ruined, that there was ſcarce provender enough to be found for a ſingle horſe. He placed himſelf in ſuch a manner between the enemies two Generals, that they could not join again all the reſt of the winter; and in order to watch them the more narrowly, he, inſtead of going to Court, retired to Spires. If it be glorious to conquer a great extent of country with a few troops, it is perhaps more ſo, to know how to preſerve thoſe conqueſts with much fewer: and this is what the Viſcount did. He loſt only Manheim, and made himſelf amends by taking Creutznach. His knowledge of the country, his judicious choice of advantageous poſts, and his happy diſtribution of his troops, ſupplied the place of numbers: ſo that, like his maſter Weymar, *he did every thing with nothing*.

In the beginning of the year 1645, the Bavarian army was conſiderably diminiſhed, by General Merci's having ſent 4000 men to the aſſiſtance of the Imperialiſts, whom the Swedes had defeated at Tabor in Bohemia. The Viſcount de Turenne, who was informed of it, took the field early. In the beginning of March he aſſembled his army, which he had found means to recruit, without any aſſiſtance from the Court. He left Spires where he had ſpent the winter, croſſed the Rhine on a bridge of boats, and marched with 5000 horſe, 6000 foot, and fifteen pieces of canon, towards Phortzeim, a little town in the country of Wirtemberg on the river Entz, ſeven leagues from the Neckar. Merci was

An. 1645. The Viſcount paſſes the Rhine and the Neckar, and purſues Merci.

An. 1645. encamped on the other ſide the Entz, and had only between 6 and 7000 men: the reſt of his troops were diſperſed in diſtant quarters, till the ſeaſon ſhould furniſh them with greater plenty of forage. The Viſcount having paſſed the river without oppoſition, two leagues below the enemy, General Merci did not think it proper to fight, but retired towards Suabia. The Viſcount purſued him, ſeized Stutgard, the capital of the Dutchy of Wirtemberg, paſſed near Hailbron, and arrived with his dragoons at Suabeſchall, or Hall in Suabia, where he found the quarter-maſters of the Bavarian army ready to enter the city. The burghers opened their gates to the Viſcount, and Merci thinking that all the French army was at Hall, made haſte to gain Dinkeſpuhel and Feuchtwang in Franconia. The Viſcount left his dragoons at Hall, and with his cavalry which had joined him, purſued the Bavarian General five or ſix leagues; afterwards he returned to Hall, continued there three days to refreſh his troops, then advanced towards the river of Tauber in Franconia, and there took Mariendal and Rottembourg, whilſt the enemy divided themſelves to go into the Upper Palatinate. Thus, with an army of 11,000 men, he preſerved all the places he had conquered, and took four more very conſiderable ones; from which he made incurſions to the very gates of Wurtzburg and Nuremburg, which he put under contribution.

He advances as far as into Franconia, and takes up his quarters at Mariendal.

He thought Mariendal the moſt proper place for his general quarters; it was ſurrounded by ſeveral ſmall towns, from whence he might draw ſubſiſtence, and it bordered on the dominions of the Landgraveſs of Heſſe, a Princeſs in alliance with France and Sweden, againſt the houſe of Auſtria; and the junction of her army with his, the Viſcount hoped would ſupply the place of the reinforcement he had in vain deſired of the Cardinal. While he waited for this junction, he thought proper to repoſe his troops

troops at Mariendal, they being fatigued with ſo ma- An. 1645.
ny motions and different marches. As there was
yet no graſs on the ground, the officers were for ſuffe-
ring the cavalry to diſperſe themſelves in the ſmall
towns round about, where they might find forage
and ſubſiſt more commodiouſly; but the Viſcount
refuſed it at firſt, leſt the enemy ſhould return
and attack his quarters when they ſhould be thus ſe-
parated. He continually repreſented to the officers,
that they were in a country whoſe inhabitants they
ought to look upon as enemies; that he might be de-
ceived by the ſpies, who were naturally better
affected to their own nation than to foreigners
who came to ruin them; that the enemy's army,
which had marched towards Bavaria with ſo much
precipitation, would there find quite freſh troops;
that having the ways open, they might re-
turn and ſurpriſe him; that it was much ſafer to
keep the army together, and that he thought he
ſhould only ſend out large detachments to ſeek forage
in the neighbourhood. The officers anſwered, that
this would be a new way of compleating the ruin of
both men and horſes; that many of their troopers
were diſmounted; that they ſhould find horſes to be
bought in the different places whither they ſhould go;
that the enemy were at leaſt ſixteen leagues off, and
could not approach them without their knowledge.
Major General Roſen joined with the officers, and
earneſtly preſſed him to hearken to their advice:
the Marſhal de Turenne ſtill oppoſed it; but at laſt,
his fear of making the cavalry ſuffer too much, his
deſire of having it ſpeedily put again into good con-
dition, and the diſtance of the enemy, determined
him to give way to theſe earneſt ſollicitations. Ne-
vertheleſs, that he might not be expoſed to a ſur-
priſe from the Bavarians, or hazard any thing with-
out firſt taking all imaginable precautions, he ſent
out ſome officers, with ſeveral detachments of horſe

An. 1645. different ways, to discover what the enemy were doing. All these parties brought accounts that the Bavarians were separated, and fortifying themselves in the different places where they were in quarters: but notwithstanding all these reports, he was still apprehensive of some unlucky accident, kept his canon and infantry with him, recalled Rosen from Rottembourg with his troops, and would not suffer his cavalry to go above three Leagues from Mariendal, which he had made his general quarters. Only he sent two regiments very far, one towards Bavaria to watch the motions of Merci's army; and the other into Franconia, to observe what the garrisons of that Circle might be doing.

General Merci surprises the Viscount.

But scarce was his army thus divided, before he reproached himself for it: he condemned his too great complaisance for his officers; and was sensible that he ought to have doubted of the intelligence that had been brought him. In order therefore to be ascertained of the true state of things by his own observation, he the next day took the great guard of his quarters, and advanced three leagues from Mariendal, on the road by which the enemy might come and attack him. He returned very late, and on the second of May, at two in the morning, a party whom he had sent towards Feuchtwang brought him intelligence, that Merci was advancing very fast with all his army. Then he instantly sent orders to all his quarters to repair to Herbsthausen, a village where the great guard was, a league and a half from Mariendal, and the centre of his quarters; and ordered General Rosen to go thither, to receive the troops as fast as they should arrive. The disposition of the places was very favourable, if Rosen had taken advantage of it: there was at the head of the great guard a wood of between five and six hundred paces long, and beyond it a fine plain, over which the Bavarians must pass in order to come at the

French. Roſen ought therefore to have ſtaid on this ſide the wood, and ſtopped up the entrance into it with ſome battalions to hinder the enemy from perceiving that the army was not yet aſſembled: but not believing Merci to be ſo near, he paſſed through the wood, and was beginning to draw up his regiments in the plain, when the Viſcount arrived and ſaw the falſe ſtep he had taken. He was going to remedy it, and to order the troops to repaſs the wood; but that inſtant diſcovering the vanguard of the Bavarians, who were with a wide front coming out of another wood a quarter of a league from him, he found he had not time to change his poſture, and immediately took his meaſures. There were but 3000 of his foot yet arrived in the plain, and ſeven or eight regiments of horſe. Turenne took all the advantages he could of the ground: in a little neighbouring wood, he placed his infantry, which he made his right wing, and poſted two ſquadrons behind to ſupport them; and compoſed his left wing of all the reſt of his cavalry, which he drew up in one line, except only two ſquadrons, which doubled it on the ſide of the great wood. Roſen placed himſelf at the extremity of this line to the right, and the Viſcount at the extremity to the left; and in this order they waited for the enemy. An. 1645.

The Battle of Marienthal.

General Merci ſoon extended himſelf in the plain, drew up his army in battalia, placed his infantry in the centre, and his cavalry in the two wings. After he had canonaded the French for ſome time, ſeeing that his artillery did no great execution, and that freſh troops every moment arrived, which might in the end make their army equal to his own, he put himſelf at the head of his infantry, and advanced to attack the little wood, which he muſt abſolutely make himſelf maſter of, in order to bring his left wing, commanded by General John de Vert, into action. The Viſcount at the ſame time marched

An. 1641. with his cavalry againſt the right wing of the enemy, broke it, ſeized the canon, took twelve ſtandards, made ſeveral priſoners, and penetrated to the ſecond line, which he ſhook. But the 3000 foot commanded by M. de Smitberd and M. du Paſſage*, behaved themſelves very differently: whilſt the Viſcount was charging the right of the enemy with ſo much ſucceſs, the French infantry perceiving that that of the Bavarians, which was marching up to them, was much ſuperior in number, gave way to their fears, and both they and the two ſquadrons which were to have ſupported them, diſperſed themſelves in the wood. John de Vert taking advantage of this diſorder, advanced with all his left wing, and began to form behind the victorious wing of Turenne, in order to attack him in the rear. The Viſcount having obſerved this motion, and perceiving that he was like to be ſurrounded, ordered his cavalry to wheel about and retire. He himſelf croſſed the great wood with only two or three officers, and beyond it found the three regiments of horſe of Duras, Beauvau and Tracy, which were juſt arrived. Theſe regiments were joined in a little time by twelve or fifteen hundred of the horſe which had been in the engagement: the Viſcount drew them up in battalia, and reſolved to attack the enemy again in caſe they paſſed the wood to purſue him; but the Bavarians aſtoniſhed at his reſolution durſt go no further.

The Viſcount's fine retreat.

Then Turenne turned his thoughts to make a retreat, which did him as much honour as a victory. He ſent Beauregard Chabry to rally his infantry, march them directly to Philipſburg without ſtopping, and from thence to bring them to him into the Landgravate of Heſſe, whither he reſolved to go with his cavalry. At the ſame time, he ordered the † Marquis de Beauvau to take together with his own

* See Turenne's Memoirs, p. 22.

† Charles de Beauvau d'Eſpence, Lord of Noir-Lieu.

regiment

regiment all the German horſe that remained after the battle, and lead them from Mariendal towards the Mein, and from thence to the frontiers of the country of Heſſe. He continued with the two regiments of Duras and Tracy to cover the retreat, and give the reſt of his troops, which came from more diſtant quarters, time to repaſs the Tauber. Then he retired in pretty good order along that river, always harraſſed, often obliged ſo to divide his troops on account of the difficulties of the ways, that ſometimes he had not above twenty horſemen with him: nevertheleſs, he rallied all thoſe that were ſtraggling to the right and left; often turned about to repulſe the Bavarians, made head againſt them at all the defiles, croſſed the Mein, and at laſt gained the frontiers of Heſſe, where he joined the reſt of his army, after having loſt great part of his infantry, 1200 horſe, and all his canon and baggage. An. 1646.

Such was the defeat of Mariendal, which was the firſt the Viſcount had received ſince he commanded in chief. The enemies to his glory much blamed his conduct: but they who judged without prejudice and with underſtanding, commended every ſtep he had taken: the preſence of mind with which he went to meet the Bavarians, without ſuffering them to attack his quarters one by one; the addreſs he ſhewed in endeavouring to recover Major General Roſen's falſe ſtep, and the prudence with which he choſe to retreat into the centre of Germany, rather than bring his army under the canon of Philipſburg, in which caſe the enemy might have followed him, retaken all the cities he had conquered, and forced him to quit Alſace: whereas his deſign in retiring into Heſſe, was to ſecure his conqueſts on the Rhine, to ſtrengthen his army with the union of the Heſſian troops, and with theſe ſuccours to put an happy end to a campaign which had ſo unfortunate a beginning.

An examination and juſtification of the Viſcount's conduct at the defeat of Mariendal.

An. 1645. The junction of the French, Heſſian and Swediſh troops.

The Landgraveſs of Heſſe, of the houſe of Hanau * couſin german to the Viſcount de Turenne, had always adhered to her alliance with the King. She had, together with all the virtues of her ſex, the talents of a great commander: ſhe could not, in decency, put herſelf at the head of her armies, but ſhe commanded them in the cabinet. This Princeſs was liberal but with œconomy, juſt as well as generous, religious without ſuperſtition, a ſovereign miſtreſs of all political knowledge, and her Court was the ſchool of all the Princes in Germany. The French troops were no ſooner arrived in her country, than General
May 29. Merci went to beſiege Kirchain, a city ſituated at the entrance into Heſſe. The Viſcount had no more than between 3 and 4000 horſe and 1500 foot: the Landgraveſs was obliged to draw her troops out of their quarters, to go and relieve the place. The Viſcount likewiſe prevailed on the Count de Koniſmark, the General of the Swedes, who wintered in the Dutchy of Brunſwick, to join 4000 of his troops to the 6000 the Langraveſs ſent under the command of General Geis. At the head of this army, conſiſting of between 14 and 15,000 men, the Viſcount de Turenne advanced towards Kirchain: General Merci immediately retired from before the place, and made haſte to Franconia. The ſoldiers preſſed the Viſcount to lead them thither; they were very deſirous of wiping off the ſhame of the battle of Mariendal, acknowledging that their General's too great goodneſs had been the cauſe of that diſgrace: but when he was going to take advantage of their ardour, he received orders from Court, not to undertake any thing before the arrival of the Duke d'Enguien. When he had wanted troops before the battle of Mariendal, they were refuſed him; now that he had

* Amelia-Elizabeth of Hanau, Daughter of Philip-Louis Earl of Hanau Muntzenberg, and of Catharine Belgique of Naſſau, daughter of William the firſt, Prince of Orange.

got

got a reinforcement from the allies, a Commander was again to be put over him, whoſe views he muſt be obliged to follow, how contrary ſoever to his own. Thus the ill-will of the Miniſter put his virtue to the ſevereſt trials: after he had expoſed him to danger for want of ſuccours, he now ſought to rob him of the glory of his ſucceſſes, by giving him a rival: but the Viſcount ſacrificed his reſentments to the love of his country; and though he knew that the King, who was yet a minor, could have no ſhare in Mazarin's reſolutions, he obeyed the orders of the Court without murmuring. An. 1645.

The Elector of Bavaria, elated with the defeat of the French at Mariendal, offered propoſals for peace which were little for the honour of France. The Court, deſirous to check his confidence as ſoon as poſſible, ſent 8000 men into Germany, under the command of the Duke d'Enguien, who had the Marſhal de Gramont for his Lieutenant General. The Viſcount de Turenne led his own troops and thoſe of the allies to meet this reinforcement, repaſſed the Mein, croſſed the country of Darmſtadt, took the city of Weinheim which was in his way, and arrived at Spires, where the two armies joined on the ſecond of July. The Duke had long conferences with the Generals Turenne, Gramont, Geis and Konigſmark, concerning the moſt advantageous ſteps to be taken by the allies. The Bavarians, who had been reinforced with 4000 Imperialiſts under the command of General Gleen, were encamped in places very difficult of acceſs, and the Duke d'Enguien, who was always fond of great exploits, was for drawing them into the open country, in order to bring them to a deciſive battle.

The Duke d'Enguien comes a ſecond time into Germany to join the Viſcount.

With this view, he reſolved to march his army near Hailbron, a city ſituated on the Neckar, and thought the bulwark of Suabia. The Bavarians, knowing the importance of this place, marched with all

The Duke d'Enguien paſſes the Neckar, takes Wimphen, and the Bavarians retire into Franconia.

An. 1645. all diligence to relieve it, prevented the Duke d'Enguien, and encamped on the eminences near that city, on the other ſide the Neckar. This advantageous encampment diverted the Duke d'Enguien from his firſt deſign, and led him to think of ſeizing Wimphen, which is two leagues below Hailbron, on this ſide of the Neckar. The Bavarians could not hinder the ſiege without paſſing the river, it being as difficult for them to relieve Wimphen, as for the French to inveſt Hailbron. In order * to take the former by aſſault, the Marſhal de Gramont marched thither with a great detachment drawn out of the four bodies of which the army conſiſted, viz. the Heſſians, Swedes, Weymarians, and French: he attacked it, planted his canon without opening trenches, made himſelf maſter of the city, and made a bridge over the Neckar. Then the Confederates paſſed that river, and General Merci retired to Feuchtwang in Franconia, above twenty leagues from thence.

The Swedes ſeparate from the King's army.

Immediately after they had paſſed the Neckar, General Konigſmark and General Geis, upon ſome groundleſs offence taken at the Duke d'Enguien's conduct, declared that they would quit the army and lead home their troops. It was a matter of great moment to the King's ſervice to prevent this ſeparation, of which Merci would not have failed to take advantage. The Viſcount de Turenne, who had a peculiar talent for managing men and calming their paſſions, ſpoke to the two Generals with his uſual ſweetneſs and mildneſs, and he prevailed with Geis to ſtay; but nothing he could ſay was able to reſtrain the impetuoſity of Konigſmark †: he was a man brought up in war, endowed with great military talents, and accuſtomed to conſiderable commands; add to this, that he was ſelfiſh, vain, and hard to

* Mem. de Siri, tom. V. part. 2. page 253.

† See the Viſcount's Memoirs, pag. 26.

pleaſe

pleaſe. The Viſcount's endeavours to get the better of his obſtinacy were therefore fruitleſs; nothing could ſtop him; he went away in a paſſion, and mounting a foot ſoldier behind each of his troopers, retired to Bremen in Lower Saxony. The Duke d'Enguien, to ſhew him that he did not want him, ſent publickly to wiſh him a good journey. An. 1645.

The Duke d'Enguien paſſes the Tauber, takes ſeveral cities, and draws near to Nordlinguen.

The French army after this ſeparation, marched with the Heſſians towards the Tauber, and ſeized all the cities they found in their way. The enemy made no reſiſtance but at Rottembourg, which was attacked and carried in one night, and the troops were much refreſhed with the great quantity of proviſions which they found there. Then the Duke marched directly to the city of Dinckeſpuhel, and opened trenches before it; but having received intelligence in the evening, that the Bavarians were advancing towards Nordlinguen, he raiſed the ſiege and reſolved to force the enemy to come to a battle. He marched his troops all night, croſs a wood where the road was wide enough for two ſquadrons to march abreaſt. At the ſame time, the Generals Merci, Gleen, and John de Vert, marched through the ſame wood at ſome diſtance, with a body of cavalry; and at break of day, they ſaw the French coming out of the wood. As the ground was very favourable for them, they drew up their army in battalia, and there waited for the Duke d'Enguien. They had a river before them and great pools to the right and left; their poſt inacceſſible otherwiſe than by narrow paths, in which ſcarce two horſemen could march abreaſt. The Duke brought forward his canon, as the Bavarians did theirs to the head of their camp; and they canonaded one another all the day, with pretty equal loſs on both ſides. The Prince ſeeing that it was impoſſible to give the enemy battle in this place, and that it was in vain to perſiſt, decamped the night following

ing

An. 1645. ing two hours before day, in order to go to Nordlinguen. By nine in the morning, he came into the great plain which is before that city; and at noon was informed that General Merci had already choſen a very advantageous poſt for a camp two leagues from him; that his men were at work in all haſte on his trenches, and that he intended to diſpute the taking of Nordlinguen, in which was a weak garriſon. Immediately thereafter, the Prince marched to the enemy, leaving his baggage behind him in the neighbouring villages, and at four in the afternoon, the two armies were in ſight of each other.

The ſituation of the Bavarian camp at Nordlinguen.

About the middle of the plain of Nordlinguen, which is very large, there is a valley of a moderate extent, formed by two little hills, a quarter of a league from each other. At the end of this valley, is a village called Allerheim, which is about three hundred paces nearer to Nordlinguen than the two hills. One of theſe called The hill of Wineberg is very high, and ſtands on the left of the village as you come from Nordlinguen. The other, on which is the caſtle of Allerheim, is on the right. The land which lies between the hill of Allerheim and the village, is as level as a plain, but is divided by a ditch: that at the foot of the hill of Wineberg ſlopes to the village of that name with a deſcent which is ſcarce perceptible. The right wing of the enemy, commanded by General Gleen, reached to the top of the hill of Wineberg; and their left, under General John de Vert, to the ſummit of the other hill, on which is the caſtle of Allerheim. The centre of their army, where Merci was poſted, took up the valley, and had the village before it: his two wings conſiſted of all his cavalry, and ſome battalions which he had poſted at the extremities upon the hills: all the reſt of the infantry formed the main body. He had thrown ſome foot into the village, and put a guard of muſqueteers in the church ſteeple

ſteeple and churchyard which was walled in: his trenches on the two hills were lined with canon. His army conſiſted of between 14 and 15,000 men; and that of the Duke d'Enguien amounted to 17,000. When all things had been examined in a Council of war, the Viſcount de Turenne was of opinion, that they could not come to a general action with an enemy ſo poſted and entrenched, without expoſing the French army to an almoſt certain defeat: the Duke d'Enguien thought otherwiſe, and his opinion prevailed over that of the Viſcount. After this there was ſome diſpute about the manner of attacking. Turenne thought they could not march to the enemy's two wings with the cavalry, without warmly attacking their infantry which was in the centre, at the ſame time; this advice was followed; and it was agreed, that the two wings muſt halt, whilſt the infantry endeavoured to gain the village. This reſolution being taken, the French army advanced towards the enemy in this order. An. 1645.

The diſpoſition of the French army when they attacked Merci's camp.

The Marſhal de Gramont commanded the right wing, conſiſting of all the French cavalry, to the number of ten ſquadrons; the Viſcount de Turenne led on the left, in which were the Weymarian cavalry, conſiſting of twelve ſquadrons, ſupported by the Heſſian army of ſix battalions and ſix ſquadrons, which made the ſecond line. The Count de Marſin was at the head of the main body, conſiſting of ten battalions, and ſupported by five ſquadrons of gendarmes and carabineers. The corps de reſerve, of four battalions and ſix ſquadrons, which were as a ſecond line to the right wing, was commanded by the Chevalier de Chabot. The Duke d'Enguien, who thus diſpoſed of theſe poſts, reſolved to be every where, and therefore choſe none for himſelf. By this diſpoſition, the right wing of the Marſhal de Gramont faced the Bavarians commanded by John de Vert; and the left wing of the Viſcount de Turenne,

An. 1645. renne, the Imperialiſts under General Gleen. The French troops, though they were to engage with well diſciplined troops, ſhewed a great ardour for fighting, in order to wipe off the diſgrace they had lately ſuffered at Mariendal.

General Merci is killed.

It was five in the afternoon when the Duke d'Enguien began the battle with canonading the village: but the enemy's artillery which was fixed, had a great advantage over his, which was continually ſhifting place in order to advance, and as he ſaw that this was loſing a great deal of time, he ordered ſome battalions commanded by the Count de Marſin, to attack the village. The firſt lines were ſoon forced; but as they drew near to the houſes, the enemy who had there poſted themſelves and made holes in them, fired ſo furiouſly, that the French ſtopped all on a ſudden, and ſoon afterwards gave way and fled. The Count de Marſin having been dangerouſly wounded, the Duke d'Enguien ſent the Marquis de la Mouſſaye to ſupply his place with a reinforcement of ſome regiments: but neither could they ſtand the fire of the enemy. Then the Duke d'Enguien himſelf led up all the King's infantry to the charge. General Merci, when he ſaw this motion, could not ſuppreſs the joy which his hopes gave him, but cried out with vehemence, *God has turned the heads of the French, they'll ſoon be routed.* He put himſelf at the head of his main body, and advanced towards the village. The battle was bloody and obſtinate, the Duke d'Enguien's cloaths were ſhot through in many places; he had two horſes wounded under him, and received a contuſion in his thigh. It was in vain to intreat him to retire; he kept in the midſt of the fire, animating the troops with his voice and geſtures. Merci, after he had done wonders, could not eſcape his fate: he was killed by a muſket-ball. The death of this great General was ſo far from diſcouraging his ſoldiers, that it rendered

rendered them furious; a ſpirit of revenge made them ſurmount all difficulties; and the intrepidity of the Duke d'Enguien, ſurprizing as it was, could not prevent the greateſt part of his infantry's being cut in pieces. An. 1645.

The right wing of the French is defeated, and the Marſhal de Gramont taken priſoner.

On another ſide, the left wing of the Bavarians fell on the right of the French with ſuch violence, that the French cavalry, after it had ſtood ſome time, was entirely broken and routed. The Marſhal de Gramont did all that valour and conduct could do, to ſtop, rally, and lead back his troops to the battle: when he ſaw that all his efforts were in vain, he put himſelf at the head of the regiments of Faber and Wall, which had not left their poſts; he waited for the Bavarians without ſtirring, and cauſed a terrible diſcharge on their ſquadrons. He even opened and broke into them; but advanced ſo far, that he was ſurrounded by the enemy, and being forced to give way to numbers, was taken priſoner. After this general rout in the right, John de Vert fell on the troops of reſerve, beat the Chevalier de Chabot, and penetrated to the baggage, which was plundered. But this German † General diſcovered more of the bravery of a ſoldier, than of the conduct of an officer, on this occaſion: inſtead of bringing back his victorious troops to ſurround the left wing of the French army, he inconſiderately ſuffered his heat to carry him too far in purſuing the fugitives.

The Viſcount de Turenne defeats the right wing of the Bavarians, and takes General Gleen priſoner.

At the ſame time the Viſcount de Turenne marched up to the right wing of the enemy, which was poſted on the hill of Wineberg. He bore the continual fire of their artillery, without ſtopping, had a horſe wounded under him, received a ſhot in his cuiraſſe, and at length arrived in good order at the top of the hill. The fight was terrible between theſe two

† Mem. de Siri. *Ibid.*

wings

An. 1645. wings of Weymarians and Heſſians on one ſide, and of Imperialiſts and Bavarians on the other. The valour of theſe two German bodies, which fought with ſo much fury, ſeemed now to eclipſe the glory of the French, who had ſuffered themſelves to be beaten every where. They made ſeveral repeated diſcharges with their muſketry, and at laſt came to their piſtols and ſwords: The Viſcount de Turenne, after he had ſeveral times attacked the Imperialiſts, who ſtill kept their ground, at laſt broke their firſt line: but General Gleen having brought up the ſecond, put the Viſcount's firſt ſquadrons into ſome diſorder, without entirely breaking them. Then the Duke d'Enguien, knowing that nothing now was to be done, either in the right wing or the main body, where there was a general rout, came to the left wing, and put himſelf at the head of the Heſſian troops which were in the Viſcount's ſecond line. Turenne immediately broke the enemy's ſquadrons which were on the hill, defeated the infantry he found there, ſeized the canon of the Imperialiſts, pointed them againſt the reſt of their right wing, which reached to the village. He took the Bavarians in flank, fired upon them without intermiſſion, obliged them to retire 500 paces beyond the village, and took General Gleen priſoner. The regiments which were poſted in the church and church-yard, ſeeing themſelves ready to be hemmed in, ſurrendered at diſcretion. As ſoon as John de Vert was informed of what paſſed on the hill of Wineberg, he haſted thither with his victorious wing; but it was too late; he had let ſlip the critical minute, found all in confuſion, and night was come on.

The retreat of the Bavarians, and the Viſcount's purſuit.

At one in the morning, the enemy's troops began to retire, and by break of day not one of them was to be ſeen. John de Vert, the only General they had left, had taken advantage of the darkneſs of

of the night, to reach Donawert, and eſcape with the remains of the army to the other ſide of the Danube: The Viſcount de Turenne purſued him to the banks of the river with 3000 horſe, and did not return till he had ſeen him paſs it with all his troops. Three or four thouſand of the French infantry had been killed in the action, and the loſs of the allies was greater than that of the Imperialiſts. The Marſhal de Gramont was taken on one ſide, and General Gleen on the other: but the Duke d'Enguien remained maſter of the field of battle, and had taken a great number of officers, many ſtandards, and all the canon of the enemy. Nevertheleſs, the victory coſt the French ſo dear, that for ſome days they could not get together above twelve or fifteen hundred of all their infantry. In the mean time, Chriſtina Queen of Sweden wrote a letter, with her own hand, to the Duke d'Enguien, to teſtify her joy, at his having by his victory wiped off the diſgrace the * Swedes had formerly ſuffered in the ſame place. Though the Duke d'Enguien had given ſignal proofs of his courage in this battle, he generouſly acknowledged, in a letter he wrote to the Queen, that the greateſt part of the victory was due to the valour and conduct of the Viſcount de Turenne. An. 1645.

After the retreat of the enemy's army, the cities of Nordlinguen and Dinkeſpuhel opened their gates: and the Duke d'Enguien having fallen ſick, returned immediately to France, leaving the army under the command of the Marſhal de Turenne and the Marſhal de Gramont, who had been exchanged for General Gleen. The French Generals, reſolving to go into Swabia to refreſh their troops there, and give them time to recover from their fatigue, marched by the country of Hohenloe to Hall, where there was plenty of forage, and tarried there ten or twelve days. The enemy repaſſed the Danube, encamped within five or ſix leagues of the French; and both The Duke d'Enguien leaves the army, and returns to France.

* In the year 1634.

An. 1645. armies continued in this poſture till the ſeventeenth of October.

The Archduke Leopold joins the Bavarians.

The Duke of Bavaria, ſeeing that the French army was ſtill advancing farther into Germany, and fearing leſt they ſhould ſeize, not only his winter quarters, but his whole country, demanded ſuccours of the Emperor, and threatened to make a ſeparate treaty with France, if he did not immediately ſend him a conſiderable reinforcement. The Emperor, who had juſt made peace with Prince Ragotski, and no longer wanted his troops in Hungary, ſent into Bavaria a great body of horſe and dragoons, under the command of the Archduke Leopold his ſon, who was accompanied by General Galas: as the Archduke had no infantry, he ſoon joined the Generals Gleen and John de Vert; and ſupported by theſe three great officers, marched with all diligence to ſurprize the French army. The Marſhals de Turenne and Gramont, whoſe troops were not half ſo many in number as the enemy, reſolved to retire, ſwam croſs the Neckar, every horſeman carrying a foot ſoldier behind him, made all haſte to the Rhine, and did not think their army ſafe till it was under the canon of Philipſbourg. They ſent to Spires for boats to make a bridge over the Rhine: but very few were arrived, before the Archduke Leopold came up and encamped within
October 13. half a league of Philipſbourg. Turenne and Gramont immediately brought their troops together in the ſpace between the city and the Rhine, encamped there, and ſent their baggage over the river, in ſight of the enemy. The Marſhal de Gramont likewiſe paſſed the river with the Duke d'Enguien's army, and all the Viſcount de Turenne's cavalry, which he led to Landau: the Viſcount alone continued encamped under the canon of Philipſbourg with his infantry. The Archduke and the three Generals ſpent two whole days in examining his camp, and found it ſo fortified,

fied, that notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their troops, they durſt not attack him: they immediately turned about, and marched to Vimpfen, which they beſieged in form. All the great canon of the French army was in this place, the Viſcount de Turenne was very deſirous of relieving it, and ſent for his cavalry, which the Marſhal de Gramont had conducted to Landau: the French came, but the Germans refuſed to follow him: Vimpfen was not relieved, and the Archduke made himſelf maſter of it in eight days. After this he ſeized Dinkeſpuhel, Nordlinguen, and the cities that had been taken between the Neckar and the Danube: all the conqueſts the French had juſt made were loſt, and nothing was left but the bare remembrance of them. The Archduke marched from thence towards Bohemia, to oppoſe Torſtenſon, who made great ravages in the hereditary countries of the houſe of Auſtria. An. 1645.

The Imperial army ſeparates from that of Bavaria, and the Marſhal de Gramont leads back the Duke d'Enguien's army into France.

When the armies of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria were thus ſeparated, the Marſhal de Gramont returned to France, with that of the Duke d'Enguien, and the Viſcount de Turenne continued alone with his on the Rhine. Many were impatient to ſee, how he would treat the German cavalry, whoſe diſobedience had cauſed the loſs of Vimpfen. As all were equally guilty, he was with reaſon afraid of inflicting a general puniſhment, which almoſt always produces a revolt; and found means to make them ſenſible of their fault, and bring them back to their duty without ſeverity; beſides, as he wanted their aſſiſtance in a great enterprize which he had in view, he thought his indulgence would make them think themſelves obliged in honour to take the firſt opportunity of expiating their late crime; and he judged rightly: his clemency had all the effect he had propoſed, or could expect from it.

An. 1645. The Viſcount reſtores the Elector of Triers to his dominions.

The enterpriſe with which he hoped to put a glorious end to a campaign which had hitherto been doubtful, was the reſtoration of the Elector of Triers. This Prince had now been deprived of his dominions twelve years, on account of his alliance with France. The Duke de Longueville, Plenipotentiary at Munſter, had declared, at the opening of the Congreſs, that ſince the war had been declared on account of this Elector, no propoſals for peace would be hearkened to, till that Prince was entirely ſet at liberty. Upon this the Elector was let out of priſon, but his dominions were not reſtored him. The Viſcount de Turenne thought that nothing would do more honour to the Regency, than the reſtoration of ſo faithful an ally. Though he was at above forty leagues diſtance from Triers, he marched, in a very hard froſt, towards that city, the Spaniſh garriſon of which, he underſtood, was not numerous: he left ſome troops to guard the paſſes of the Rhine, and the baggage of the army, and took with him only a very ſmall body of infantry, for the greater expedition, depending on ſome battalions of the Duke d'Enguien's army, which, with the leave of the Court, came from Metz, from whence he likewiſe conveyed ſome canon down the Moſelle. He took poſſeſſion of all the places by which the city could be relieved, and inveſted it on
Nov. 14. the fourteenth day of November. Upon information that the enemy were aſſembling together to raiſe the ſiege, he ordered Colonel Schutz to croſs the Moſelle, and meet them with the Germans who were deſirous of making amends for their fault. Schutz entirely diſperſed them, and would have cut them in pieces, if they had not ſaved themſelves in the woods, with which the country is covered. The Governor of Triers, when all hopes of ſuccours were loſt, demanded to capitulate, and on the
Nov. 20. twentieth of November ſurrendered.

The

The reſtoration of the Elector confirmed the allies of France in their attachment to this Crown, deprived the Duke of Lorrain of the winter quarters he had flattered himſelf with in that Electorate, and made the Moſelle a new barrier to France. The Viſcount de Turenne, after he had built a fort near the bridge of Triers, and left 500 men there, went to take Oberweſel, a conſiderable caſtle, which the enemy ſtill poſſeſſed on this ſide the Rhine, viſited all the places on that river and the Moſelle, put them in a poſture of defence, extended his army along thoſe two rivers, and in the beginning of February ſet out for the Court, where he was received with all the applauſes which ſo glorious a campaign deſerved. An. 1646. The Viſcount returns to Court.

Cardinal Mazarin could no longer avoid doing juſtice to the merit and abilities of the Viſcount; and being willing to acknowledge the ſervices he had done France, offered him the Duchy of Chateau-Thierry: But as this was one of thoſe eſtates which the Council had propoſed in exchange for Sedan, Turenne thought he could not accept it without prejudice to the Duke of Bouillon his brother; and conſtantly refuſing all the Cardinal's offers, he declared he would accept of nothing till the exchange was compleated. Being little concerned about his own private intereſt, and wholly intent on what reſpected the welfare of the State, he was, during his ſtay at Court, continually repreſenting to this Miniſter, that no progreſs would ever be made in Germany, ſo long as the army of France continued ſeparated from that of Sweden; becauſe, whilſt the one was acting on the ſide of the Rhine, and the other in the hereditary countries of Auſtria, it was eaſy for the Imperialiſts and Bavarians, who were between the two, to march their forces to that ſide where they ſhould find themſelves weakeſt, and ſo hinder the gaining any conſiderable advantage over them. The Cardinal offers him the Duchy of Chateau-Thierry, but he refuſes it.

An. 1646. These reaſons had their weight with the Cardinal; the union of the two armies was reſolved on; and it was entirely left to the Viſcount to put the grand project in execution.

The negotiations and difficulties at the Congreſs of Munſter. The demands of France.

In the mean time, no progreſs was made towards a general peace at Munſter; the different pretenſions of the powers aſſembled, daily increaſed the diviſions among them. France demanded of the Emperor, by way of ſatisfaction, the city of Briſac, with Briſgau, Alſace, and Philipſbourg, and the Biſhoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun; in a word, all ſhe had ſeized or conquered from the Houſe of Auſtria, for an hundred years paſt. Sweden claimed both Pomerania's, the Archbiſhopric of Bremen, and the Biſhopric of Verden; demanded ſeveral millions of crowns to defray the expence of the war; and inſiſted, that the Elector Palatine ſhould be reſtored to his dignity and dominions, and that the Proteſtants ſhould have the free and publick exerciſe of their religion allowed them, not only in the hereditary provinces, but throughout all the Empire. The Emperor, who ſaw that theſe claims tended to divide the Germanic body, both with regard to religion and its civil conſtitution, long evaded the demands of the French and Swedes, and tried all ſorts of artifices to diſunite them: but by the wiſe conduct of the King's Plenipotentiaries at the Congreſs, and of the Viſcount de Turenne in the army, the intereſts and councils of the two Crowns continued united, in ſpight of all the intrigues of the Emperor's Miniſters at Munſter, and the cabals of the Swediſh Generals in their camp.

The pretenſions of the Elector of Brandenburg.

The Elector of Brandenburg, the head of the Calviniſt party, had a juſt claim to Pomerania, by virtue of ſome antient treaties with the Dukes of that country, and oppoſed the pretenſions of the Swedes, who inſiſted that that Duchy belonged to them by right of conqueſt. This affair cauſed long

debates

debates, and was one of the moſt difficult to adjuſt: the Miniſters of Spain excited the Elector to reject all accommodation, and gave him hopes of aſſiſtance from their Maſter. An. 1646.

The pretenſions of the Elector of Bavaria.

The Elector of Bavaria, the head of the Catholick party, the moſt able and moſt powerful Prince in all the Empire, had advanced the Emperor near nine millions of crowns, and taken Upper Auſtria for his ſecurity: the Emperor, to ſet free this important province, and to clear himſelf without paying any thing, had given that Prince the Upper Palatinate, together with the Electoral Dignity, after he had deprived the Elector Palatine of both. Since the progreſs of the arms of France and Sweden in Germany, the Emperor was become a feeble ſupport to the Bavarian family, and a bad guarantee for its acquiſitions. The Duke found he wanted a more powerful ally, and had recourſe to France: under pretence of religion, he ſent his Confeſſor to the Queen Regent, to repreſent to her, of what conſequence it was to the Catholic cauſe, that the Electoral Dignity ſhould not return to a Proteſtant Prince, and that the Catholic religion, which had been introduced into the Upper Palatinate, ſhould be preſerved there. Cardinal Mazarin heard him favourably, and was ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſupporting the Duke, as well to hinder the deſtruction of the Houſe of Bavaria, which would put the Swedes into a condition of no longer wanting either troops or ſubſidies from France, as to prevent the ruin of Religion in the Empire.

The differences between the two Crowns of France and Spain.

The differences between the two Crowns of France and Spain, were ſtill more difficult to be reconciled. The French promiſed to abandon Catalonia, on condition that Spain would give up to them Rouſſillon, Artois, and Cambreſis. By the addition of theſe provinces to Alſace, the three Biſhoprics and the cities demanded of the Emperor,

An. 1646. the frontiers of the kingdom would be extended, and this was compleating the plan of Cardinal Richelieu, which his ſucceſſor ever had in his view. Whenever Mazarin could not bring the powers of Europe into this, by way of negotiation, he continually ſtarted freſh difficulties, in order to retard the peace: nevertheleſs being always willing to be thought to deſire it, he conſented that the Plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces ſhould be mediators between France and Spain; but the Dutch ſoon diſcovered that Mazarin ſought only to gain time, and they declined the mediation. The Count de Pegnaranda, the Spaniſh Miniſter, treated privately with them, to induce them to make a ſeparate peace with his Maſter, unknown to, and excluſive of France. He took them in a conjuncture which was favourable to his deſign: the Dutch did not much like the character of that Miniſter, and dreaded the power of the King: if they feared a rupture with ſo warlike a nation as France, they feared much more to put themſelves into the hands of Mazarin.

The general Plan of the Congreſs.

Thus were the Catholics treating with the Proteſtants and endeavouring to unite with them, in order to continue a war, which at firſt had been wholly undertaken in defence of religion. The Swedes caballed with the Emperor againſt France their ally: France hearkened to the Duke of Bavaria in order to hinder the Swedes from carrying their conqueſts too far in Germany: Spain ſupported the Elector of Brandenburg, the head of the Calviniſt league: and the Dutch ſought the friendſhip of the Spaniards, their old enemies. Such a confuſion was there of views, intereſts and intrigues at Munſter and Oſnaburg. Cardinal Mazarin at Court, and the Viſcount de Turenne in the army, took advantage of theſe different motions for five years together, and artfully made uſe of them, in order to

to come at laſt to that very concluſion, at which they had always aimed. An. 1646.

In the beginning of April, the Viſcount de Turenne left the Court, and returned to the Rhine. The Swedes were in Heſſe; * Wrangel commanded them, and had ſucceeded Torſtenſon, who, after he had acquired the reputation of a great commander, was retired to Stockholm, on account of a long indiſpoſition. As ſoon as Turenne had aſſembled his army near Mentz, he ſent to inform General Wrangel of his deſign to paſs the Rhine at Baccarach, croſs the country of Naſſau and come to him in Heſſe. He was upon the point of ſetting out when Cardinal Mazarin ſent him word, that the Duke of Bavaria had promiſed the King's Plenipotentiaries at Munſter, to keep his army ſeparate from that of the Emperor, provided that of France did not paſs the Rhine: that it was the King's pleaſure, that the Viſcount ſhould abandon all the deſigns which the French and Swedes were to have put in execution, after their union; and that he ſhould leave Germany, and go and beſiege Luxembourg. The Viſcount, ſurprized at this change, plainly ſaw that the artifices of the Duke of Bavaria were the true cauſes of it: that he might not diſobey ſo poſitive orders, he did not paſs the Rhine; but being perſuaded that the ſiege of Luxembourg, in this criſis, would utterly ruin the King's affairs in Germany, he found out ſeveral pretences for delaying that enterprize. The event juſtified his conduct, and ſhewed his great penetration and foreſight. Whilſt the Duke of Bavaria was amuſing the Cardinal with promiſes, his army ſtill continued upon the march, and at laſt joined that of the Emperor in Franconia.

The Duke of Bavaria amuſes the Cardinal Miniſter, with intent to hinder the Allies from joining.

* Charles Guſtavus Wrangel, Count of Salmitz, and afterwards Conſtable and Captain General of Sweden.

The

An. 1646. The Imperialiſts and Bavarians, with all their forces, placed themſelves between the French and the Swedes. The bridge of the Rhine at Philipſbourg was become uſeleſs, and the Viſcount could not go into Heſſe through the country of Naſſau, which the enemy poſſeſſed; and it ſeemed impoſſible for him to join the Swedes. Whether the Emperor had gained Wrangel, or the Duke of Bavaria alone had broken all the meaſures of France, it is certain that a ſtop was going to be put to all the ſucceſs of that Crown in Germany, if Turenne had not continually found reſources in his own abilities. He inſtantly reſolved what to do, wrote to the Cardinal, and without waiting for an anſwer, immediately began to put his deſign in execution. He left part of his infantry at Mentz, marched with the reſt, and all his cavalry, towards the Moſelle, forded that river ſix leagues above Coblentz, croſſed the Electorate of Cologn, went through the county of Meurs to Rhimberg; and not being able to get a paſſage over the Rhine, but through the cities which belonged to Holland, he ſent to aſk leave of the Dutch to paſs at Weſel, and after fourteen days march arrived at the gates of that city. The Dutch garriſon refuſed to open them; but the Count d'Avaux, Plenipotentiary of France, happening fortunately to be in that city, he, with many remonſtrances, obtained leave for the King's army to enter it. Then the Viſcount diſpatched a courier to General Wrangel to communicate his deſign to him; paſſed the Rhine on the fifteenth of July, continued his rout through the county of La Mark, along the Lippe, to Lipſtadt, and from thence turned to the right croſs Weſtphalia; and at length, after a march, which was as expeditious as painful, he joined the Swediſh army commanded by General Wrangel, and the Count de Konigſmark, who, ſince the departure of the Duke d'Enguien, was returned

The Viſcount compaſſes it by a long and painful march.

returned to ſerve with Turenne. This ſo much deſired union was made on the tenth of Auguſt, on the frontiers of Heſſe, between Wetzlar and Gieſſen, on the river Lohn, with all the ceremony and marks of reſpect due to the army of France; the Swedes drew up in battalia, gave two ſalvoes, and would have the Viſcount de Turenne give the word. An. 1646.

The Imperialiſts and Bavarians had cloſely ſhut up General Wrangel, but durſt not attack him, becauſe he kept himſelf entrenched in an advantageous poſt, till the French ſhould arrive. Upon the news of their arrival, the enemy retired ſix leagues from thence, and encamped near the City of Fridberg. The French and Swediſh armies amounted to 7000 foot and 10000 horſe, with ſixty pieces of canon; the Imperialiſts and Bavarians had 14000 horſe and 10000 foot, with only fifty pieces of canon. This ſuperiority did not hinder the Viſcount from marching to them, and advancing as far as Fridberg. The Archduke Leopold was ſo far from offering battle, that he employed himſelf day and night in making deeper the entrenchments of his camp, in which he was almoſt buried already. Turenne, who wanted only to paſs, continued his rout towards the Mein, and halted between Frankfort and Hanau, ten leagues from Mentz, from whence he ſent for the reſt of his infantry. All the troops of the allies being now united, Turenne and Wrangel paſſed the Mein, and marched down the river and took Selingenſtat and Aſchaffembourg; and the alarm immediately ſpread through all the country, where people hoped to have enjoyed great tranquillity, under the ſhelter of two powerful armies. The peaſants abandoned the country and fled in crowds for refuge to the neighbouring cities, where the magiſtrates opened their gates to the allies: but as their

The Imperialiſts and Bavarians retire, and the Viſcount paſſes the Mein.

army

An. 1646. army did not, at moſt, exceed 20000 men, they could not put garriſons in all the places, without weakening it: and they contented themſelves with blowing up the fortifications of ſome, and taking the principal inhabitants for hoſtages from others.

The Viſcount de Turenne opens a way into the three Circles of Franconia, Swabia and Bavaria.

When the Duke of Bavaria knew that the allies had paſſed the Mein, he broke down the bridges of Dillingen and Hockſtet upon the Danube, which was the only barrier to his dominions, ordered his moſt valuable effects to be removed from Munich to Burkhauſen, and complained bitterly to the Emperor of the Archduke Leopold, who had ſo ill defended Germany. Indeed this Prince, by not oppoſing the allies at Fridberg, had, in effect, opened a way to them into Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria; the places ſtored with proviſions in theſe three Circles, were expoſed to pillage, becauſe no care had been taken to fortify them, in confidence that they would be ſecure from inſults, behind all the forces of the Empire, which were to defend the paſſage of the Mein. The booty might have been ineſtimable, and the Viſcount might have demanded, for himſelf alone, 100000 crowns contribution *per* month, without doing any thing contrary to the uſages of war: but with an unparallelled diſintereſtedneſs, he only took out of the enemy's magazines what was ſufficient to ſubſiſt his army. Whilſt the Imperialiſts and Bavarians, to the ſurprize of all Europe, continued unactive in the country of Fulde, to which they had retired, the armies of France and Sweden entered Franconia and Swabia, took Schorndorf, Dinkeſpuhel and Nordlinguen, and paſſed the Danube at Donawert and Lavingen, whoſe bridges had not been broken down. Immediately the Duke of Bavaria retired to Braunaw, on the river Inn, not thinking himſelf ſafe in his capital. The Viſcount de Turenne, and General Wrangel

Wrangel ſtill advanced farther into the country, and croſſed the Lech, on the twenty ſecond of September. An. 1646.

The Swedes went and beſieged the city of Rain, which is one of the beſt fortreſſes in Bavaria, and the Viſcount ſent the Marquis de Beauvau with 500 horſe to ſummon Auſburg to ſurrender. When the magiſtrates in their ſurpriſe and dread, were beginning to capitulate, General Wrangel, fearing leſt the French ſhould make themſelves maſters of the place, ſent word to the Viſcount, in order to divert him from that enterpriſe, that he met with great oppoſition in the ſiege of Rain, and intreated him to come immediately to his aſſiſtance. Turenne, believing that the magiſtrates of Auſburg would protract their negotiations as long as they ſaw the Swediſh army employed in the ſiege of Rain, haſtened thither, and recalled the Marquis de Beauvau from Auſburg, hoping to return thither ſoon and beſiege it with both armies. He opened trenches for a ſecond approach as ſoon as he came to Rain, and on the third day got to the foot of the baſtion. The beſieged beat the chamade on the ſide of his attack, capitulated with him, and marched out to the number of 2000 men. During theſe three days, Wrangel ſpake often to the Viſcount of the rights Sweden had to the city of Auſburg, becauſe the great Guſtavus had formerly made himſelf maſter of it; and inſinuated, that it rather belonged to the Swedes than the French to appoint a Governor there when it ſhould be taken. Then Turenne ſaw what was the true reaſon for which Wrangel had ſent for him, and the falſe ſtep he had taken in abandoning Auſburg: but it was now irrecoverable: the Bavarians from Memmingen, to the number of between 12 and 1500, were already entered into Auſburg: nevertheleſs, he marched thither, in hopes of carrying it before the Imperial and Bavarian armies could come to its aſſiſtance. The Viſcount and General Wrangel took

He beſieges Ausburg takes the city of Rain.

An. 1646. took up their quarters round the place, each opening trenches for an approach on the ſide where he was poſted: and in a ſhort time they advanced to the edge of the ditch, which was very wide and very deep.

The Archduke returns to relieve the Bavarians.

The Duke of Bavaria in this alarm declared to the Emperor, that he would ſtrike up an accommodation with France, if this important city was ſuffered to be taken, between which and Munich there was no place of defence. The Emperor fearing the defection of the Bavarians, ordered the Archduke to march: the Imperial and Bavarian armies left the country of Fulde, took their rout by Schweinfurt, Bamberg, and Nuremberg in Franconia, penetrated into the Upper Palatinate, where they found ſome new reinforcements, and paſſed the Danube at * Straubing. The Archduke ſoon appeared near Auſburg, with an army much ſuperior to that of the allies, and the Viſcount and Wrangel were obliged to retire nine or ten leagues from it, towards Lavingen. On the other hand the Archduke paſſed the Lech, and came and encamped in Suabia, between Memmingen and that river, about five leagues from Landſperg, where he had a great magazin of proviſions. His ſcheme was to attack the allies when their forrage ſhould be conſumed, and oblige them to retire as far as Franconia. By thus driving them from Suabia, he would have been able to have retaken in the winter, without any ſiege, all the places they had conquered: and all the exploits of this campaign would have been uſeleſs.

The Viſcount marches up to the Archduke's camp without attacking it.

The Viſcount de Turenne and General Wrangel ſaw through the deſigns of the Archduke, and reſolved to march up to him. It was now the beginning of November, the ſeaſon was ſevere, and the ground was covered with ſnow: the army weak and fatigued wanted horſes, arms and cloaths: but not-

* See Puffendorf, *de rebus Suecicis*.

withſtanding

ithſtanding all theſe inconveniencies, they marched An. 1646.
wards Memmingen, to the ſide where the enemy
as. After they had viewed their camp, they
dged it a raſh thing to undertake to force it: the
rchduke had poſted himſelf behind great marſhes
nd long defiles, and had added all the precautions
f art to the advantages of nature in fortifying his
enches.

Nevertheleſs, in order to make this Prince believe The Viſcount ſteals a march from him, and intercepts his proviſions.
hey deſigned to attack him, they drew near his lines; nd then leaving at ſome diſtance from them a large ront of 2000 horſe, to cover the march of the reſt f the army, they made all haſte to the banks of he Lech, paſſed it over the bridge the Imperialiſts ad left there, and advanced to Landſperg, which hey took by aſſault. Thus they made themſelves naſters of the enemy's magazines, and had ſix nonths proviſions for their army which encamped ound this city, from whence they ſent to levy conributions to the very gates of Munich. The Archduke finding himſelf by this means without proviions, and having two great armies, was forced to epaſs the Lech: and when he had ſeparated from he Bavarians, put the Imperialiſts into winter quarers in the hereditary countries. The Duke of Bavaria, much diſſatisfy'd with Leopold, reſolved from that ime to abandon the Emperor and take care of himſelf, by making peace, in order to ſave his dominions, which he ſaw become a prey to the French and Swediſh troops. The allies had decamped from about Landſperg, ravaged all Bavaria, and were returned near to Memmingen. The Duke thus hard preſſed, deſired a truce of the French Plenipotentiaries at Munſter and Oſnaburg: they ſent Croiſſi, a Counſellor of the Parliament of Paris, to know of the Viſcount the true State of Affairs in Germany. Conferences were held at Ulm: Bauſchenberg, General of the Bavarian artillery, was ſent thither by

An. 1646. by the Duke, and Major General Tracy, by the Viſcount, whoſe advice governed all the deliberations. At laſt, on the fourteenth of March, the following articles were agreed on: That the Duke of Bavaria ſhould ſeparate himſelf entirely from the intereſts of the Emperor; That he ſhould no longer aſſiſt him with his troops; That he ſhould give a paſſage and proviſions to the King's troops; and, That the cities of Lavingen, Gondelfingen, and Hochſtet in the Circle of Bavaria, and the other places between Ulm and Donawert ſhould continue in the hands of the Moſt Chriſtian King. The Viſcount inſiſted on this laſt article, that in caſe the Duke of Bavaria ſhould break his word, as he had already done, he might be brought to reaſon by means of theſe places, which opened a way into his dominions.

An. 1647. The Viſcount receives orders from Court to leave Germany and march into Flanders.

After the retreat of the Bavarians, the Emperor's army was reduced to 5000 foot and 6000 horſe: the French and Weymarian troops, which were refreſhed and recruited, together with the Swedes commanded by Wrangel and Konigſmark, amounted to near 14,000 foot and 20,000 horſe. This great ſuperiority ſo terrified the Imperialiſts that they durſt not appear, and at the ſame time determined the Cardinal Miniſter to recal the Weymarians and French from Germany: he would have them ſerve in Flanders, where the army was much diminiſhed, ſince a great part of it had been ſent into Catalonia under the Duke d'Enguien, now become Prince of Condé by the death of his father in laſt December. The Viſcount de Turenne foreſeeing that the German regiments would make a difficulty of marching into Flanders, warmly oppoſed this ſeparation. He ſent ſeveral Couriers to the Cardinal, to remonſtrate to him, that the ruin of the Houſe of Auſtria was certain, if the two armies continued united; that by their ſeparation, the Duke of Bavaria would have

e at liberty to turn againſt the Swedes whenever An. 1647.
e pleaſed; that there was no danger of ma-
ing the Swedes too powerful in Germany, ſo long
France had an army there; and in ſhort, that
e King would be in a condition to give at leaſt
powerful a protection to the Catholic religion as
at of the Houſe of Auſtria. The friends of Bavaria
nd the Catholic Princes repreſented on the contrary
the Queen Regent, That the continuance of the
ar with the Emperor would utterly deſtroy the Ca-
olic religion in Germany; that the Swedes alone
ould reap advantage from the fall of the Houſe
Auſtria; that the King by withdrawing his ar-
y, would leave the affairs of the empire in a ſort of
uilibrio, ſo that neither the Houſe of Auſtria nor
e Swedes would be maſters of it; and laſtly,
at the Duke of Bavaria, keeping up his army,
ould always incline the ballance to which ſide
rance pleaſed. Theſe reaſons prevailed againſt the
monſtrances of the Viſcount; and the want of
oops in Flanders occaſion'd him a freſh order to
arch thither. The Queen had firſt written him a
ter of the fifteenth of April, in which ſhe ordered
m to prepare to leave Germany, to ſecure all the
aces he had taken, and put faithful Governors in
em; but ſtill left him at liberty to haſten or delay
s departure as occaſion required: but in another
ter, dated in May, ſeeing that he ſtill heſitated a-
ut it, ſhe ordered him to march immediately to-
rds Luxembourg, and then to Flanders, whither
e Archduke was gone to command the Spaniſh
oops. The Viſcount being at laſt obliged to leave
varia, before he went to Philipſburg to paſs the
hine there, took Viblingen on the Danube near the
lm, Tubingen on the Neckar in the Dutchy of
irtemberg, Steinheim and Hoechſt on the Mein,
armſtadt and Gernſheim on the Rhine, and ſome
her places, which might ſecure his conqueſts, and

An. 1647. open ſeveral ways into the heart of the Empire. The fortifications of ſome he raſed, and placed ſmall gariſons in others.

General Roſen hinders the Weymarian troops from going into Flanders.

In the mean time, the Weymarian troops in the Viſcount's army, openly declared their unwillingneſs to go into Flanders: Roſen, an officer of the greateſt credit among them, who had been taken priſoner at Mariendal, and was juſt exchanged ſince the truce with the Bavarians, was glad to find an opportunity to withdraw himſelf from obedience to the Viſcount, whoſe preſence continually reproached him with his faults at Mariendal: he judged of Turenne by himſelf, and thought he would never forgive him his having been the chief cauſe of the only defeat he had ever met with. Actuated by theſe motives, he had thoughts of making himſelf maſter of this body of Germans, and took advantage of the diſpoſition in which he found the Weymarians, to diſengage them from France, and keep them in Germany. Every thing favoured his deſign; theſe troops, as auxiliaries, were free; they loved their own country, and were afraid that if they went into Flanders, they ſhould be incorporated with others, loſe their privileges, and not have the ſame pay: the Emperor and the Swedes offered them ſtill more, and France was five or ſix months in arrear to them. The Cardinal Miniſter, in the preſent low ſtate of the finances, had not been able to promiſe them more than one month's pay, and had even in that broke his word to them.

The Weymarian troops refuſe to paſs the mountains of Saverne and revolt.

The Viſcount de Turenne had uſed all methods to induce them to bear with this delay: he had put the German cavalry into quarters where they had great plenty, and had procured the officers new promotions, governments and penſions: for Roſen in particular, he had obtained the commiſſion of Lieutenant General of the horſe: but the idleneſs and eaſe the Germans enjoyed in their quarters, ſerved only

nly to raiſe reflections and diſcourſes among them which confirmed them in their mutiny. The Viſcount having at length begun to march after the laſt order, had ſcarce paſſed the Rhine at Philipſburg, before the Germans openly declared that they would not follow him, refuſed to paſs the mountain of Saverne, and threatned to return back: ſo that of all the Weymarian cavalry only the regiment of Turenne paſſed it. The next day, the chief officers of this rebellious cavalry came and demanded of the Viſcount the ſix months pay that was due to them: he anſwered, that it was impoſſible for him to give them any money till they came into Flanders; that if they marched thither, he would procure them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from Court that the whole ſhould be paid. This anſwer not being ſufficient to ſuppreſs the ſpirit of ſedition which was entered into them, he ſent Roſen, whoſe fidelity he had never yet ſuſpected, to bring them to their duty. Roſen was ſo far from leſſening the evil, that he increaſed it, continued with them, and ſent the Viſcount word that the German officers detained him by force: from that time he acted as a General who acknowledged no ſuperior, and the next day ordered them to march; he ſent to Strasburg for boats, threatned the inhabitants to burn all their villages if they refuſed them, and continued his rout towards the Rhine. An. 1647.

The Viſcount purſues the Weymarians to the banks of the Rhine.

The Viſcount immediately followed him with 3000 foot, four French regiments, and his own regiment of horſe; marched nine German leagues in one day, and came up with the rebels as they were beginning to paſs the Rhine. Roſen, who was thunderſtruck at the ſight of him, not knowing what to do, and perhaps imagining that he could yet conceal his unfaithfulneſs from him, ſaid to him, *you ſee how they drag me along with them.* Theſe words, and Roſen's countenance, convinced Turenne that he was betraying him; but nevertheleſs he thought it

An. 1647. neceſſary to diſſemble his reſentment. He might lawfully have fallen on the mutineers; their conduct deſerved an exemplary puniſhment; his troops were ſuperior in number, and there was ſo great a confuſion among theirs, that he could have put them all to the ſword. But Turenne, who was the father of the ſoldiery, could not reſolve to ſacrifice ſo many brave men, who had ſerved the King ſo well, and might ſtill be uſeful to him. Theſe humane ſentiments induced him to comply with the ſollicitations of ſome of their officers, who repreſented to him, that it would be the more eaſy to bring back the mutineers to their duty, if he would give way a little to their firſt fury, by ſuffering them to repaſs the river: he conſented, provided they did not march far beyond it.

In the mean time, the Viſcount found himſelf extremely embarraſſed. On one hand, he had reaſon to apprehend, that the Weymarians would deſert and go over to the Emperor or the Duke of Bavaria, who had been compelled by force to make a truce, and was always ready to renew the war; and he foreſaw the utter ruin of the French affairs in Germany, if the Bavarians ſhould in his abſence join with the Imperialiſts, after they had drawn off from him the beſt part of his troops. On the other, the Court ſent him poſitive orders to leave Germany; and he was ſenſible, that the joining his army to that in Flanders would put the French into a condition to ruin the Spaniards. He conſidered both ſides, and at laſt reſolved to ſuſpend his journey, upon a conviction that it was better for him to continue in Germany where France was in danger of loſing all, than to go to Flanders, where all that could be propoſed was to enlarge her conqueſts. When he was come to this reſolution, he ſent an account of the reaſons of his conduct to Court; kept only his 3000 foot and his regiment of German horſe with him, and ordered

rdered the four other regiments of French horſe, with the reſt of his army which was already at Saverne, to march on to Flanders. An. 1647.

After their departure, he continued near a month on the banks of the Rhine, with a deſign to uſe all poſſible means to recover the troops which had always been the terror of the Empire, and not to make uſe of force, till he found them ready to deſert and march towards the hereditary countries. He often diſcourſed with the German officers, adviſed them to continue faithful to France, and at laſt regained them all except Roſen. Then the troopers refuſing to obey their officers any longer, choſe commanders from among themſelves, and reſolved to continue their march. As Roſen ſtill fomented the revolt, the Viſcount thought the only means entirely to quaſh it, would be to put him under arreſt: this he had not immediately an opportunity to do; but that he might not fail of one, he went to Roſen's quarters, reſolving never to leave him. Upon the news of his arrival, the Weymarians removed to a little diſtance; but when they underſtood that he came alone without any troops, they returned again in the evening. Turenne ſupped at Roſen's quarters with ſeveral officers whoſe fidelity he was well aſſured of: the evening was ſpent with great chearfulneſs and mirth: the Viſcount appeared to be without any deſign or reſentment, or even a ſuſpicion of Roſen's unfaithfulneſs. About midnight, he was informed, that the mutineers were mounting their horſes, and marching towards the Marquiſate of Baden. Highly pleaſed with their not taking their rout towards Bavaria, he left his own troops on the other ſide of the river, and determined to go with them, and not leave them till they came near Philipſburg, into a country where they would be far from the Imperial cities, and ſurrounded with French garriſons. The attempt was bold: but being well

He paſſes the Rhine with the Weymarians, and marches towards Philipsburg.

An. 1647. assured of the officers, who had ſerved long under him, and being perſuaded that the ſoldiers who loved him, would ſhew reſpect to his perſon, he thought this ſtep neceſſary, in ſo critical a conjuncture, for the intereſts of France. He therefore put himſelf at the head of them, accompanied with Roſen, whom he always kept in his ſight: he ſent before him the Quarter-maſters to mark out their camp; did all the offices of General as uſual, as if there had been no revolt; and not one of the new leaders durſt retain the leaſt ſhadow of authority in his preſence. He marched thus two days: on the third, the leaders of the ſedition came to the General's quarters, again to demand of him the ſix months pay: upon this he inſtantly mounted his horſe, and remonſtrated to the ſoldiers, without vouchſafing to take any manner of notice of their chiefs, that it was not poſſible for him to pay the whole ſix months; but that, if they would repaſs the Rhine, he would pay them one, and uſe all his intereſt at Court to get them the reſt without further delay. All immediately asked him, whether he would be ſecurity for it: many there are perhaps who would not have ſcrupled promiſing, in order to extricate themſelves out of ſuch a difficulty; but the Viſcount, who never promiſed more than it was in his power to perform, and who thought it a diſhonouring himſelf to fail in his word, would not engage for what he could not do, and only repeated what he had ſaid. He ſaw by the countenances of the chiefs, that this anſwer only ſowered them, and that they had thoughts of ſecuring his perſon. He did not appear to gueſs at their intentions, but ſtill kept his temper; and reaſſuming an air of authority, which was natural to him at the head of troops, he commanded * them to return to their quarters. All obeyed, and not one durſt make any reply.

* Siri, tom. IX. part 2. pag. 991.

Roſen

Roſen, who was ſtill with the Viſcount, endeavoured in vain to perſuade him to leave an army, in which he could not continue with ſafety: Turenne would not ſtir, but continued to march at the head of the rebels the next day; and at length they arrived at Etlingen, a little town in the Marquiſate of Baden, eight leagues from Philipſburg. The chief officers lodged in the place, and the troops encamped round it. That very night he cauſed privately to come from Philipſburg 100 muſqueteers, whom he ordered to be at the gates of Etlingen, at the opening of them in the morning: As ſoon as they were arrived, he ordered the guard of that gate to lay down their arms, and placed 50 of theſe muſqueteers to guard it in their room; and with the other 50 he went to Roſen's lodgings, put him under arreſt, and ordered him to be carried priſoner to Philipsburg, where he was detained till the peace of Weſtphalia. Then he ſent to the rebels camp, to inform all the Officers of the impriſonment of Roſen, with orders not to acknowledge him any longer as their Lieutenant-General. Upon this, all the Officers of the mutineers, down to the very corporals, and two whole * regiments, ſeparated themſelves from the reſt, came and joined the Viſcount, and promiſed him an entire obedience as their chief commander. The reſt of the Weymarians, to the number of 1500, having choſe ſome from among themſelves to command them, took the road to Franconia, and marched towards the valley of Tauber, with incredible expedition. The Viſcount followed them at the head of thoſe who were returned to their duty, came up with them at Konigſhouen, and attacked them: 300 he cut in pieces, made as many priſoners, and the reſt, to the number of between eight and nine hundred, gain'd the banks of the Mein, join'd the Swediſh army, and

An. 1647.

He ſecures Roſen, and purſues a part of the Weymarians who leave him.

20 July.

* Mem. MSS. of the Viſcount de Turenne.

An. 1647. entered into the pay of that Crown. When he was going to hang the priſoners, an old trooper who was leading to the gallows, opened his boſom, and looking the Viſcount ſtedfaſtly in the face, ſaid to him, *General, don't ſtain the glory of your noble actions, by cauſing an old ſoldier who is covered with ſcars, and who has a thouſand times braved death under your ſtandards, to die by the hands of the common hangman* †: The Viſcount was ſoftened, forgave him and all the reſt, and incorporated them in his own troops, to which he returned. The Court did juſtice to his merit; all the world admired his courage, prudence and humanity. He had, in a very delicate and important conjuncture, diſſembled the moſt juſt reſentments; paid court to his inferiors, without leſſening his authority; chaſtiſed particular perſons, without loſing the confidence of the body; made himſelf reſpected by the rebels at the ſame time that he put himſelf in their power; then puniſhed ſome, and pardoned others, as prudence required; and at laſt brought back the greateſt part of them to their duty.

Then he comes to Luxembourg, and there takes ſeveral places.

Turenne came to Luxembourg in the month of September, and received orders not to go further, but employ his troops in taking ſome places, in order to make a diverſion, and oblige the Spaniards to divide their army in Flanders. He made himſelf maſter of the city of Virton, the caſtle of Manguin, and of ſome other places. The Archduke not doubting but France had ſome great deſigns on Luxembourg, ſent thither a detachment from his army, which weakened it ſo much, that he was ſo far from being in a condition to undertake any thing in Flanders, as not to be able to ſave the cities of Dixmude, la Baſſie, and Lens, which were taken by the Marſhals de Gaſſion and de Rantzau.

† Vittor. Siri. Mercur.

During

During theſe tranſactions, the event verified what the Viſcount de Turenne had foreſeen of the conduct of the Duke of Bavaria. The Elector ſeeing that the Swedes gained great advantages over the Emperor, and fearing leſt they ſhould grow too powerful, join'd his army to that of the Imperialiſts, and thought he might break the treaty of neutrality with the Swedes, without breaking it with the French. General * Melander, who commanded the Imperial and Bavarian armies, having entered Heſſe, drove Wrangel as far as the Duchy of Brunſwick, and retook great part of what the armies of France and Sweden had conquer'd the laſt year. The Queen of Sweden informed of his progreſs, complained to the King of this infraction of the Treaty of Ulm, and earneſtly preſſed him to puniſh the unfaithfulneſs of the Duke of Bavaria. The Court of France ſent orders to the Viſcount to return immediately into Germany: he left Luxembourg, marched into the Palatinate, made the Imperialiſts and Spaniards raiſe the Siege of Wormes; and having thrown a bridge over the Rhine near Oppenheim, continued ſome time in the country of Darmſtad, till the Swedes were in a condition to march.

An. 1647.

He marches back his Troops into Germany.

† It was during his ſtay in this country, about the middle of December, that he received expreſs orders to break the neutrality with the Duke of Bavaria: a formal declaration of war was neceſſary in theſe circumſtances, to aſſure the King's allies of the falſhood of the reports already ſpread all over Germany, that France had an underſtanding with Maximilian. The Viſcount therefore, to remove all doubt concerning it, wrote the following letter to the Elector, and at the ſame time made it publick.

He receives Orders from Court to break the neutrality with the Duke of Bavaria.

* Peter Melander, Baron of Holtzappel, Count of the Holy Empire.
† Siri. Tome xi. p. 899.

" I

An. 1647.

The Viſcount's Letter to the Duke of Bavaria.

" I wrote ſome time ſince to your Electoral " Highneſs, to inform you, that I had not then " received any orders from Court, concerning " what I was to do, ſince your rupture with the " Swedes, and that I had ſent a Courier to France " to know the King's pleaſure. I have ſince re- " ceived orders from his Majeſty, to ſend a trum- " pet to your Electoral Highneſs, to inform you, " that the King continues in the ſame offenſive and " defenſive alliance with the Swedes, in order to " obtain a good peace, and that his army will for " the future act jointly with theirs, as long as your " Electoral Highneſs ſhall be in war with them. " This information I could not fail of doing my ſelf " the honour to give you, and intreat you to be- " lieve me to be, *&c.*

The Duke of Bavaria made him the following anſwer. " Illuſtrious Prince, yours of this month, " tho' the date does not mention the day, have " been delivered me by your trumpet, and I there- " by learn, that you have received orders from " the Court of France, to break the neutrality I " had concluded with that Crown, and in which I " had expreſly ſtipulated, that I would not ad- " here to the Treaty, if your troops ſhould ever " for the future act either offenſively or defenſively " againſt me. I muſt confeſs, that I was much " ſurprized at the renunciation of the neutrality by " the Crown of France, that it is what I did not " expect, and that I had even flattered my ſelf " with the contrary, from the declarations that were " made to me on the part of the Queen Regent, " and Cardinal Mazarin, at the time when I re- " nounced the neutrality ſettled between me and the " Crown of Sweden, for particular reaſons, which " I explain'd in writing, and by my Ambaſſa- " dors at Munſter. Thoſe declarations were indeed " contrary to the preſent reſolution; but never the- " leſs,

" leſs, ſince it is a thing already reſolved and done, An. 1647.
" with a view, as it is ſaid, to procure Peace, I
" muſt be ſatisfied; and tho' my forces are not
" comparable to thoſe of the powerful Crown of
" France, I will defend my ſelf as well as I can,
" againſt thoſe who ſhall attack me, in confidence
" that ſince they will not adhere to my pacifick in-
" tentions, God will bleſs my arms, that I may
" obtain a peace; and in the mean time I will en-
" deavour to defend my ſelf againſt my enemies.

Munich, Dec. 30, 1647.

After he had received the King's orders, the Viſ- An. 1648.
count paſſed the Main, the 11th of February, and
went to the frontiers of Heſſe, there to meet the Swedes. He marched faſt, notwithſtanding the ice, and ſnows, and his continual want of forrage. He had 4000 foot, 4000 horſe, and 20 pieces of canon: and the fifteen places conquer'd beyond the Rhine were in a very good condition. The Imperialiſts and Bavarians having heard the news of Turenne's march, and being afraid of laying between the French and Swediſh armies, left Heſſe, retired beyond the Danube, and poſted themſelves under Ingolſtadt in Bavaria. General Wrangel, when thus delivered, return'd to Heſſe, and advanced as far as Gelenhauſen in the County of Hanau, between Heſſe and Franconia, where the Viſcount joined him on the 23d of March: from thence they repaſſed the Mein, croſſed Franconia, went to the banks of the Danube, and there reſted for ſeven days, to conſider what courſe to take. Wrangel and Konigſmarc deſigned to lead the armies into the Palatinate of Bavaria, and from thence towards Bohemia; but the Viſcount would not conſent to it, and repreſented, that this would carry them too far from Swabia, the only place from whence they could be ſupply'd with ammunition and proviſions; that the Bavarians would take advantage of their abſence, to

The Viſcount joins the Swedes in Franconia.

ſeize

An. 1648. ſeize the places which France held beyond the Rhine; and that beſides, as his cavalry had not been in winter quarters, he had promiſed them to give them time to refreſh themſelves, and be recruited. Nevertheleſs, the Viſcount offered to go towards the Upper Palatinate, on condition that Wrangel would reſtore him the German deſerters, or give him other ſoldiers in their room, to garriſon and defend thoſe places on the Rhine, which by their diſtance would be expoſed to the enemy's inſults: but the Swediſh Generals were ſo far from granting him what he deſired, that they ſought only to debauch from him the reſt of the Weymarian troops, which he had in his army. The only reſource the Emperor had left, was to gain the Swedes, and engage them to ſeparate themſelves from the French: he promiſed to leave them all they had conquered in Germany, provided they could oblige the King to give up his pretenſions to the lands of the Empire. Wrangel and Konigſmark wanted therefore to draw the King's army to a diſtance from the Rhine, with a view of making uſe of it to ſecure the conqueſts in the heart of the Empire, which were to belong to them, without any regard to the preſervation of thoſe of France near the Rhine. The Viſcount was at the ſame time concern'd to appeaſe the commotions that were riſing in his army: the rebellious Weymarians, who had entered into the Swediſh pay, were continually ſowing ſedition; and the advancement of ſeveral of thoſe deſerters, who were promoted to be officers, could not fail of exciting the jealouſy of their old companions, who had continued faithful to the Viſcount. In theſe circumſtances, all his prudence was wanting to prevent a ſecond revolt, which might have been more fatal than the firſt.

After the junction he attacks General Melander, and defeats both him and Montecuculi,

He withſtood with conſtancy all the perſuaſions the Swediſh Generals made uſe of to prevail on him to

to follow them, but without leſſening the good correſpondence he reſolved to keep up with them. At laſt Konigſmark and Wrangel threatned to leave him, and in order to make him afraid of it, marched towards the Upper Palatinate. But this artifice had little effect: Turenne was perſuaded, that when the Swedes were alone, they would not undertake to go farther, and halted in the biſhoprick of Bamberg. And he was not miſtaken: after a feint of ſome days, they invited him to come near Rottemburg on the Tauber. The two armies marched together towards the frontiers of Wirtemberg, and the Generals having refreſhed them there, agreed to go after the enemy, in order to fight them. When General Melander received advice of the approach of the two armies, he made haſte to the other ſide of the Danube. The confederate Generals paſſed that river at Lavingen, and there left their heavy baggage and ſick, and whatever could embarraſs them. The Viſcount and General Wrangel marched before with the cavalry, and ordered the infantry to follow them with the canon as faſt as they could. They came up with the rear-guard of the enemy's army, commanded by the Count de Montecuculi, at a place near Auſburg called Zuſmarhauſen or the river Lutzen. Turenne, who led the van guard, charged Montecuculi's ſquadrons, broke them, obliged them to ſeek their ſafety in a wood, and drove them from thence into a little plain. General Melander, who had been informed of the ſtate of his rear-guard, had haſtened thither with a great body of cavalry: the battle was bloody, and the field long diſputed; at laſt Melander was killed, and his cavalry retired in diſorder into another wood, at the other end of the plain. Turenne came thither almoſt at the ſame time, and found it join'd with the enemy's infantry, whoſe fire ſuſpended the ardour of the French ſquadrons; but General Wrangel

An. 1648.

May 15th.

May 17th.

An. 1648. Wrangel having entered the wood through a by-way, the enemy, when ſurrounded on all ſides, could no longer reſiſt: their infantry was entirely defeated, their canon and baggage taken, and their cavalry put to flight and purſued to the river Schmult, that was fordable only in one very narrow place, which was guarded by Duke Ulrick of Wirtemberg, Major General of the Imperial army. This Prince had with him ſix or ſeven ſquadrons of horſe, and three battalions entrenched beyond the river, to defend the paſſage of it. As the French had no infantry to force it, they pointed the artillery they had taken from the enemy againſt them, but to no purpoſe; Duke Ulrick would not abandon the paſs, though he ſaw half his men fall by him; he ſtood the fire to the end of the day; had five horſes killed under him, and by this ſurprizing firmneſs preſerved the Imperial army from being cut in pieces: Montecuculi took advantage of it, to go and poſt himſelf under the canon of Auſburg. The intrepidity of the enemy was much extolled, who ſtood three engagements in one day, loſt their General, and yet were not diſcouraged either by the difficulties of the retreat, the number of ſlain, or the loſs of their artillery and baggage.

May 19. He marches towards Bavaria.

Two days after the defeat of Melander, General Konigſmark, ſeeing his aſſiſtance was no longer neceſſary, marched with ſome troops towards Bohemia, whilſt the Viſcount de Turenne and General Wrangel advanced towards Bavaria. The Imperialiſts left a great garriſon in Rain, which the Elector looked on as the gate into his dominions, and retired into the center of the country, waiting for the arrival of * Piccolomini, who was recalled from Flanders to command them. The Viſcount, emboldened by

* Octavus Piccolomini, originally of Sienne in Italy, afterwards Prince of the Holy Empire, Knight of the Golden Fleece in Spain, and Duke of Amalfi in the Kingdom of Naples.

their

their retreat, reſolved to open himſelf a way into Bavaria, by croſſing the Lech. The enemy had a bridge there, the head of which was defended by a little fort: the garriſon was ſo vigorouſly attacked, that they ſet fire to the bridge: ſome of the Viſcount's ſoldiers ſwam to the fire and put it out; the bridge was repaired, the fort abandoned, and the French army paſſed the Lech here, whilſt the Swedes paſſed it in another place. When the two Generals were joined, they met with no more oppoſition: without loſing time by forming the ſiege of Rain, as the Bavarians had imagined, they penetrated into Bavaria, croſſed the river Ambre, and took Friſingen on the Iſer, where they found a very great quantity of ammunition and proviſions. The Bavarians, who had paſſed the Iſer at Landſhut, had juſt burnt the bridge of Friſingen, and being encamped over-againſt the allies on the other ſide of the river, where they had two redoubts, they with their fire incommoded the ſquadrons which were ſent to ſound the fords: but upon the ſight of a battery of ſix great pieces of canon, which the Viſcount raiſed, they retired in the night between the third and fourth of June, went and burnt the bridge of Landſhut, and abandoned that city and Moſburg. The terror was univerſal; the German horſe of the French army made incurſions as far as to the river Inn, from whence they brought ſeveral priſoners, and much cattle: among the reſt, ten horſemen in particular ſwam the Inn, and though naked and without arms, drove away with ſtones above 500 Bavarian peaſants, who were keeping their flocks in a meadow, and took from them thirty horſes *.

An. 1648.

May 29.

The Imperial and Bavarian armies were then reduced to 3000 foot; and the Elector of Bavaria not thinking himſelf ſafe in his capital, went to ſeek a re-

The D. of Bavaria leaves his capital and retires into the Archbiſhopric of Saltzburg.

* See Pufendorf *de rebus Suecicis.*

An. 1648. a retreat in the Archbiſhopric of Saltzburg. At ſeventy eight years of age he imbarked with the Princeſs his wife and his children, and from his own boat ſaw another periſh, in which were his domeſtics and his equipage. In theſe melancholy circumſtances he wrote to the Emperor, to preſs him to conclude a peace, and to Cardinal Mazarin, to give him a lively deſcription of his misfortunes, and of the ravages the French army committed in his dominions; but he received no anſwer, and was obliged to continue ſeveral months with the Archbiſhop of Saltzburg. This Prelate, though provoked, was very ready to receive the Elector, who had ſhewed him but little regard during his proſperity.

June 12. The Viſcount makes an irruption into Bavaria. On the twelfth of June, the confederate Generals made two bridges over the Iſer at Friſingen, paſſed that river, continued their march, obliged all the cities to redeem themſelves from fire and pillage, with conſiderable ſums, and penetrated as far as the banks of the Inn, where they took Muldorf, whilſt the enemy's army retired toward Paſſau. The Viſcount de Turenne, who ſtaid a fortnight at Muldorf, endeavoured in vain to paſs the Inn, in order to march into the hereditary countries: the river was wide and deep, there were no boats, neither could piles be fixed to make a bridge. On the ſixth of July the confederate Generals ſet out from Muldorf, where their forrage was conſumed, and went on the ninth to Newmark, and from thence to Egenfelden on the Rot. In the mean time Piccolomini croſſed the Danube at Paſſau, and arrived within five or ſix leagues of the French and Swediſh camp, with an army of 10000 foot, and 1500 horſe. The Viſcount, inſtead of continuing on the Inn, thought proper to go to Dingelfing on the Iſer, where there was greater plenty of forrage: the enemy arrived the next day at Landſhut on the ſame river,

iver, and there encamped a whole month, without An. 1648.
laring to attack the Viſcount. From this camp
hey were obliged to ſend ſome troops into Bohe-
nia, where Konigſmark had ſurprized the city of
Prague; beſides, their army was daily weakened
y the frequent loſſes they ſuſtained in rencounters
etween ſmall parties: Prince Ulrick of Wir-
emberg was taken priſoner in one of them, and
his misfortune utterly diſcouraged them; Provi-
ions failing in the two armies, the enemy retired to-
ards Munich, the allies drew near to Moſburg.
The Viſcount ſet out from thence on the fourth of
eptember, with 800 muſketeers, ten regiments of
orſe, one regiment of dragoons, and four pieces of
anon, for Dachaw on the river Amber, almoſt
n ſight of Munich, and that city immediately ſur-
endered. The French and Swedes ſtaid near
Moſburg till the firſt of October, and then left October 1.
e enemy's country which they had been pillag-
g and laying waſte, upon the approach of the
inter ſeaſon. Such was the irruption into Bava-
a, in which the enemy were purſued from city
city, from poſt to poſt, from river to river,
ithout intermiſſion, for four months together:
uring which the whole country was expoſed to
e fury of the ſoldiers, as far as the gates of Mu-
ch, Ingolſtadt, Ratiſbon, and Prague; and in
hich, nevertheleſs, no conſiderable action hap-
ened, but only a few convoys were taken, and ſome
rties defeated.

On the tenth of October the French and Swediſh October 10.
mies repaſſed the Lech near Landſberg; and on He repaſſes the Lech and the Danube, and recives advice that thepeace was concluded at Munſter.
e fifteenth croſſed the Danube at Donawert, and
me to refreſh themſelves in the neighbourhood of
avingen. The Viſcount de Turenne was making
eparations for penetrating, the next campaign,
o Auſtria, and marching up to Vienna, when a
urier from the Count Servien brought him advice

An. 1648. of the concluſion of the peace at Munſter, and the ceſſation of arms agreed on, till the ratification of it. At the ſame time the Elector of Mentz, the Duke of Wirtemburg, ſeveral other Princes, the Magiſtrates of towns corporate, and ſome Embaſſadors wrote to him to congratulate him, declaring that this peace, which had been ſo much deſired, was as much the fruit of his conduct and victories, as the work of the Plenipotentiaries *.

The motives which induced the ſeveral powers to make a peace.

Two conſiderable events had induced Cardinal Mazarin to grant the Emperor a peace. The breaking out of the inteſtine troubles in France, and the ſeparate peace the Dutch had juſt made with Spain. The Emperor, on the other hand, who was much reduced by his misfortunes, conſented to every thing France required: Chriſtina Queen of Sweden, content with the victories ſhe had already gained, preferred the cultivation of the liberal arts and ſciences to the noiſe and glory of arms. The Proteſtants, who were at firſt animated by their religion, were much come off from their zeal for the intereſt of the Elector Palatine; and the Duke of Bavaria, like an able politician, found means to procure himſelf wonderful advantages from this diſpoſition. Spain only refuſed to grant France her demands, and the war continued between thoſe two Crowns, till the peace of the Pyrenees: all the other powers, abating of their pretenſions, ſhewed the ſame deſire for a peace, which was at laſt concluded and ſolemnly ſigned.

The chief articles of the peace of Weſtphalia.

The treaty was begun with a clauſe of general oblivion of all that was paſſed, and the deciſion of the differences about the States of Lorrain, was referred to the treaty which ſhould be made between France and Spain. Then theſe chief articles were ſettled, which changed the face of affairs in the Empire, and in all Europe: That Maximilian Duke

* See the Authorities. Numb. 3.

of Bavaria, and his deſcendants, ſhould continue to enjoy the Electoral Dignity formerly poſſeſſed by the Electors Palatines, with all its prerogatives, the Upper Palatinate and the county of Cham; on condition that he give up the thirteen millions due to him from the Emperor, and all his pretenſions to the Upper Auſtria: That in order to make the deprived Palatine amends, an eighth Electorate ſhould be created in his favour, and that the Lower Palatinate ſhould be reſtored to him in the ſame extent, and with the ſame rights which his predeceſſors had enjoyed before the troubles in Bohemia: that if either of theſe two branches of the Palatine family ſhould fail, the Electoral Eſtates and Dignity ſhould be united in the ſurvivor, and the new Electorate be extinct: that the Emperor ſhould reſtore what he had taken from the Elector of Triers: that the Proteſtants of the Auſburg confeſſion ſhould be preſerved in the free exerciſe of their religion: that France ſhould reſtore to the Duke of Wirtemberg the places ſhe had taken from him: that the Margrave of Baden ſhould be put into the ſame condition in which he was before the troubles in Bohemia: That the affair of the ſucceſſion of Juliers ſhould be amicably determined: that juſtice ſhould be done to the Landgrave of Heſſe: that the power and authority of the Diets ſhould be reſtored, and the liberty preſerved to the German Princes of uniting among themſelves, and making alliances with foreigners for their own defence; provided it was not done againſt the Emperor or the Empire: that the ſupreme ſovereignty of the Biſhoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and theſe three cities, with their dependencies, ſhould belong to the Crown of France, and be united to it, except only the metropolitan right, which ſhould ſtill belong to the Archbiſhop of Triers: that the Emperor and Empire ſhould yield to France the right of property and

An. 1648.

An. 1648. ſovereignty to Pignerol in Piedmont, as likewiſe all their right and property in the city of Briſac, the Sundgau, the Upper and Lower Alſace, with a power of keeping Philipſbourg under her protection, and having a garriſon in it: That France ſhould reſtore to the Archduke the four Foreſt cities, with all their dependencies, and pay him three millions of livres in three years: that the Archbiſhopric of Bremen, and the Biſhopric of Verden, ſhould be turned into lay fees, and given to Sweden; that Sweden ſhould hold them immediately of the Empire, with a vote in the Diets: and that the port of Wiſmar, Hither Pomerania, the iſlands of Rugen and Wollin, the city of Stetin, and ſeveral other very conſiderable places ſhould likewiſe be given up to the Swedes. Thus ended the differences of France with the Emperor and Empire, and the long religious war which was occaſioned by the troubles in Bohemia.

The Viſcount's conduct during the negotiations of a peace, and the wars in Germany.

Before the concluſion of the peace, and during the whole time of the negotiations, the Viſcount de Turenne had a part to act which was no leſs difficult than important. The deſign of the Swedes, in this war, was to invade the Empire, to gain the Proteſtant party the aſcendant in Germany, to hinder the French from keeping any footing beyond the Rhine, and to turn wholly to their own profit, all the advantages that ſhould be gained during the war. The deſign of France was rather to leſſen than deſtroy the power of the Houſe of Auſtria; to put it out of a condition to ſend ſuccours to the Spaniards in Flanders; to make uſe of the forces of the Proteſtants in a war with the Emperor, without ſuffering their party to gain the ſuperiority over the Catholic; and to preſerve all the conqueſts ſhe had made in Germany, in ſpight of the Swedes. In order to this, the Viſcount de Turenne was to concur in gaining advantages for the Swedes, and at the ſame time

time prevent their being carried too far: to ſupport the Proteſtant party, without cruſhing the Catholic: to manage, in a word, ſo many different perſons, and ſuch oppoſite intereſts, and at the ſame time preſerve inviolate his zeal for his religion, his fidelity to his King, and his unalterable love of juſtice. All this he did with an addreſs hardly to be paralleled, and with immoveable firmneſs and courage, notwithſtanding the intrigues of the politicians, the jealouſy of his competitors, and the contradictions of the Miniſter himſelf. An. 1648.

The END of the SECOND BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE Viſcount de TURENNE.

BOOK the THIRD.

An. 1649. State of France after the peace of Weſtphalia.

FRANCE, ſince the time of Charlemagne, had never been at ſo high a pitch of glory as after the treaty of Weſtphalia. She was feared by her enemies and reſpected by her allies, ſhe had humbled the pride of the Houſe of Auſtria, extended the limits of her empire, and ſecured her conqueſts by a ſolid peace: but the courſe of her proſperities was on a ſudden interrupted by inteſtine wars, and by a faction of men, who preferred their private intereſt to the happineſs of the people, and the grandeur of the Monarchy.

Source of the troubles and revolutions.

Bodies politic, like bodies natural, are ſubject to periodical diſtempers, which are common to many States. About the middle of the ſeventeenth century, a ſpirit of rebellion and confuſion ſpread it ſelf over all Europe. Joſeph Alexi, a man from among the lees of the people, drove the Viceroy of Sicily from his Palace: Maſaniello, a wretch that ſold fiſh at a ſtall, raiſed an inſurrection at Naples: Paul Balbi attempted to change the Government at Genoa: Cromwell, the moſt daring artful ſpirit that ever diſturbed the peace of the world, puſhed the

Rebellion

Rebellion in England againſt King Charles I. to the monſtrous crime of a deliberate Regicide: the Janiſaries at Conſtantinople dethroned the Sultan Ibrahim: in France the prime Nobles of the Kingdom took up arms againſt their Sovereign. In theſe times of tumult and confuſion, the people yielding themſelves wholly to their natural levity, loſt all their ſtrength, and were quite overwhelmed; their impotent efforts to ſhake off the yoke, ſerved only to render it more heavy: the laws fell into contempt; the ſacred rights of religion were violated; the very pureſt virtue contracted ſtains; and even heroes themſelves were not proof againſt the general contagion. An. 1649.

It is impoſſible to have a juſt idea of the civil diſcords in which France was imbroiled, without being acquainted with the characters of the principal actors who governed the motions of almoſt all the reſt.

Character of Anne of Auſtria, Queen Regent.

Anne of Auſtria, Infanta of Spain, Queen Dowager of France, and Regent of the Kingdom, had, together with a fine perſon, thoſe amiable qualities which gain affection; ſhe was liberal, generous, faithful to her promiſes, conſtant in her attachments, loved juſtice and hated flattery. The goodneſs of her own heart hindred her from eaſily believing ill of others, and made her diſſemble the faults of her friends; but through a natural indolence, and a ſelf-diſtruſt, ſhe, for the moſt part, let herſelf be ſo much influenced by thoſe ſhe eſteemed, as to adopt their prejudices and eſpouſe their paſſions. This was a defect that proved very injurious to her glory, and gave occaſion to her enemies to accuſe her of having *more obſtinacy than reſolution, more pride than elevation, and more ſuperſtition than piety: in a word, more of ſhew than of reality.* If ſome have doubted of her capacity, the greater part do however concur in giving her this fine encomium,

An. 1649. comium, *That never any Queen had a better heart.* She deſerved this praiſe, not only on account of her benevolent diſpoſition, but for her invariable adherence to the intereſt of the King her ſon. Never was there an inſtance of a Queen in whom the matrimonial engagements ſo remarkably prevailed over thoſe ſentiments which birth inſpires: the moment ſhe became a French-woman ſhe forgot that ſhe was born a Spaniard.

Character of the Duke of Orleans.

Gaſton Duke of Orleans was poſſeſſed of all the ſhowiſh ſparkling qualities without having much ſolidity. A moſt agreeable gaiety of humour, a bewitching manner of trifling, a ſprightly imagination, a luminous underſtanding, a perfect diſintereſtedneſs, all theſe were in him accompanied with a ſurpriſing weakneſs, and a continual irreſolution, which transformed all his virtues into defects, yet without making him vicious. *He entered*, ſays Cardinal de Retz, *into all affairs, becauſe he had not force of mind to withſtand thoſe perſons who drew him in, and there was not one of thoſe affairs which he did not quit with diſhonour, for want of courage to go through with it.* Had he not been a Prince, he would perhaps have been the moſt amiable of men: but the high rank in which he was born placed all his weakneſſes in open view, and put his talents to ſuch trials as were beyond his ſtrength. The aſſemblage of ſo many good qualities and ſo many defects formed a character that could neither be hated nor eſteemed.

Character of the Prince of Condé.

Louis de Bourbon Prince of Condé, was one of the greateſt men that France ever produced. In his very firſt campaigns he ſhewed himſelf equal to the moſt celebrated Captains, and that he needed neither years nor long experience to make him an accompliſhed ſoldier. Nature had happily given him that quick ſight which at one glance takes in all objects, preſents them to the imagination without confuſion, and

and dictates to the mind in the very moment what is best to be done. Full of a martial enthuſiaſm, he often ſeemed to act by a ſudden inſpiration, which made him deſpiſe dangers and break through all obſtacles. Fiercely reſolute in command, he huſbanded neither the lives of his ſoldiers nor his own; and, in every engagement intrepid to exceſs, ſeemed always determined to conquer or to die. He had an underſtanding ſublime and profound, was eloquent, improved by letters, acquainted with the principal beauties of all the ſciences that qualify for converſation, the cabinet and the field. The ſtrength of his genius equal'd the vivacity of his ſpirit, which was at once full of light and heat. In the midſt of his misfortunes he ſtill preſerved the hero, and when he had recovered the King's confidence, made the faults of a ſhort interval in his life be forgot; becoming again, in a riper age, what he had been in his youth, the terror of Spain and of the Empire. An. 1649.

Character of Cardinal Mazarin.

Cardinal Mazarin, of a temper no leſs mild than that of Richelieu was violent, had a handſome perſon, and a majeſtic air; his manners were polite, his diſcourſe inſinuating, his converſation extremely pleaſant and charming. The Queen was pleaſed with him at firſt, from a ſympathy of characters, and he quickly became the ſoul of all her councils. He was impenetrable in his deſigns, diſguiſed in his proceedings, artful in his intrigues, and often attained his ends by ſuch ways as would ſeem to carry him wide of his mark. Notwithſtanding that greedineſs of riches with which he is reproached, he was known in ſome nice circumſtances, to ſacrifice the intereſts of his family to his Maſter's glory. And though the genius of his politicks was rather cunning than reſolution, yet in critical and important occaſions, he made no ſcruple to hazard all, and could face the moſt preſſing dangers with an intrepid ſoul. The ſame man who dreaded the cabals in the Parliament

of

An. 1644. of Paris, made himſelf courted by the greateſt Powers of Europe, even at the time of his diſgrace. He had little knowledge in the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, but was perfectly well verſed in foreign affairs. He compleated, by his abilities and by negotiations, what his predeceſſor had begun by force of arms. The methods he employed to raiſe the regal authority to its higheſt pitch, were alſo quite different. Richelieu found no other means to humble the Nobles, than by a ſeverity which often looked like cruelty; but Mazarin gained this point, by adviſing the King to enſlave them by hopes, ſoften them by pleaſures, and ruin them by luxury.

Character of Cardinal de Retz.

Jean-François de Gondy, Coadjutor of Paris, afterwards Cardinal de Retz, diſcovered very early his reſtleſs ſpirit and propenſity to faction, and was proud of being called *the Little Catiline*. Ambitious without meaſure, and courageous even to raſhneſs, he knew no reſtraint, and was fearleſs of danger. To gain his point, he made uſe alternately of gallantry and politics, vice and virtue, religion and the paſſions *. Quick, paſſionate, and of an unruly imagination, his ſchemes, though he had great penetration and a vaſt extent of capacity, *always bordered upon the chimerical*; he was fond of all extraordinary projects, and endeavoured to put them in execution by methods the leaſt common and the fulleſt of artifice. The Memoirs he has left behind him, give a pretty juſt idea of his character; he was in every reſpect, like his ſtile, which is full of fire and ſmoke: he moves, he hurries you along, he intoxicates, but he very ſeldom enlightens or perſuades. We muſt however do him the juſtice to confeſs, that virtue, victorious over the depravity of his heart, rectified in the latter part of his life, all his vicious inclinations. Such were the principal actors who appeared in the

* See the memoirs of the times.

feuds

feuds and diviſions of the *Fronde* during the minority of Louis XIV. An. 1646.

After the death of Louis XIII. the Queen was idoliz'd: ſhe had been ever unfortunate; and perſecution reflects always a ſtrong luſtre on perſons of her rank. Thoſe who had been baniſhed in the preceding reign were recalled; the ſtate priſoners ſet at liberty, and ſuch as had been turned out of their employments were reſtored to them. All things were generouſly granted, nothing was denied; and the beneficence of the Queen, after a twelve years war, quite exhauſted the treaſury. Emery ſuperintendant of the Finances *, intent upon repleniſhing it, had been forced to put in practice all the expedients which his invention ſuggeſted. The uſual reſources not being ſufficient, he taxed the poor no leſs than the rich, created new offices, in order to raiſe conſiderable Sums by the Sale of them, ſeized the publick revenues, extorted loans, and by his ſeverity exaſperated the minds of the people, alienated their affections, and ſcattered in all parts of the Kingdom the ſeeds of a general Revolt. Being unable to deviſe any further ways and means, he attempted to ſeize upon the ſalaries of the Chamber of Accounts, of the Court of Aids, and of the great Council, who all joined with the Parliament, to complain to the Court of the innovation. This laſt tribunal pronounced the famous arrêt or decree of union, by which it was enacted, that the four ſuperior companies ſhould meet in St. Louis's chamber, there to debate on the public welfare. This arret was as a ſignal for the malecontents of all conditions to rally, expoſe their grievances to the Parliament, and demand their being removed. Every one exclaimed againſt the exorbitancy of the taxes, the forcible exactions, the ſale of the effects, the impriſonment of the perſons, and the general oppreſſion of the King's ſubjects.

Origin of the civil wars in France.

* Memoirs of the Times.

The

An. 1645. The members of the Parliament, touched with the publick calamities, received the ſupplications of the wretched, offered to ſee juſtice done them, and won the favour of the people, who looked upon them as their tutelar Gods, and the protectors of the widow and orphan. There nevertheleſs were three parties in the Parliament, the *Frondeurs* or Cavillers, who oppoſed the Court; the *Mazarines*, who were for ſupporting the authority of the Miniſtry, and the *moderate* party, who blamed the head ſtrong paſſion of the one, and the exceſſes of the other. Beſides, in each of theſe three parties, many acted from different motives; ſome, ſtruck with the miſeries of the people, employed their thoughts wholly how to remove them; others, from a principle of conſcience and their country's love, thought, that the preſervation of the regal authority was abſolutely neceſſary for the peace of the Kingdom; laſtly, others, who perhaps were the moſt numerous, were actuated only by paſſion and a ſpirit of intereſt. On all ſides, juſtice and injuſtice, principles and the abuſes of principles, right and uſurpation were blended and confounded. Liberty was now no longer diſtinguiſhed from licentiouſneſs, nor the Royal Authority from Arbitrary Power.

Impriſonment of the chiefs, and the firſt inſurrection of the people.

The perſon who with greateſt artifice inſpired the ſentiments of rebellion into the Frondeurs of the Parliament, was Longueil counſellor of the great chamber. He, during ſome years, had inſinuated artfully to the members of the Parliament, that their employments had not been founded, merely to interpret the laws and to do juſtice to private men; but likewiſe to reform the conduct of Kings: that under the Miniſtry of Cardinal Richelieu, the Sovereign had arrogated to himſelf a power, which was unknown during the twelve hundred years the Monarchy had exiſted; that the Miniſters, overthrowing all forms of juſtice, had introduced the dangerous principle,

principle, that the Royal Will was the ſole arbi- An. 1649.
ter of the poſſeſſions, life and liberty of ſubjects: that the time was now come, for reviving the antient maxims, and reſtoring that political harmony which ought to be between the authority of the Prince and the obedience of the people *. Longueil, by thus ſetting himſelf up for a patriot, became the oracle of the Fronde: but the only motive of his talking in this republican ſtrain, was merely to revenge himſelf of the Prime Miniſter, for having refuſed him the poſt of Chancellor to the Queen. He won over two other members of the Parliament, Brouſſel and Blanc-Menil, who alſo had ſome private reaſons to be diſguſted at the Court. Theſe two men, giving way to the natural heat of their tempers, began to be more obſtreperous than Longueil himſelf, and were for ever endeavouring to inflame the Parliament: the eſteem they had gained in it by their turbulent counſels, dazled the populace, who now grew fond of them, and gave them the glorious name of *Fathers*. The Queen cauſed them to be ſeized about the end of Auguſt; and their impriſonment prompted the moſt ſeditious ſpirits to rebel. The tradeſmen ſhut up their ſhops, ſtretched chains croſs the ſtreets and barricaded them, even cloſe by the *Palais-royal*, againſt the forces ſent to quell them: they clamorouſly required that Brouſſel and Blanc-Menil ſhould be ſet at liberty; and the Parliament went in a body to the *Palais-royal*, to ſupplicate the Queen to ſet them at liberty. Her Majeſty made a reſolute refuſal, foreſeeing the mortal blow which would be given to the Royal Authority, in caſe ſhe ſubmitted to the caprice of the populace: but the Duke of Orleans and Cardinal Mazarin, being naturally timid, endeavoured only to extricate themſelves from the preſent danger, and engaged the Queen, contrary to her own opinion, to

* Memoirs of Rochefoucault.

give

An. 1649. give up the two priſoners. From that day, the Parliament gathered freſh ſtrength againſt the Court; and ſeveral perſons of the higheſt quality declared for the Fronde.

The Coadjutor aſſembles and animates the chiefs of the Frondeurs.

The Coadjutor, overjoyed that he had found an opportunity to engage in intrigues, was walking through the ſtreets of Paris the very day the barricades were ſet up, in his pontifical veſtments, followed by a long train of eccleſiaſtics dreſſed in their ſurplices, as though he imagined he could lay the ſtorm by giving his bleſſing round. He went to the *Palais-royal* to offer his ſervices, but had no reaſon to be pleaſed with the reception he met with. Seeing himſelf expoſed to the raillery of the courtiers, the ironical compaſſion of the Cardinal, and the loud laughter of the Queen, he came away exaſperated, deſperate, and fully reſolved to revenge the Court ſcoffs, on the government and his country. *The raillery of the Court*, ſays he, *purged me of all crimes.* Notwithſtanding his great preſumption, he yet did not think he had credit enough to get to be head of the party. He therefore ſought for a chief who might owe that poſt to him, and under whoſe name, he himſelf might be in reality the ringleader. The Prince of Conde having repulſed him, he turned his views towards his brother the Prince of Conti, who had been deſigned for the Church; but whoſe birth alone, was capable of giving great authority, in a Kingdom like that of France.

Liſt of the chiefs of the Frondeurs, and their views.

The Prince of Conti, brought over by the Coadjutor, declared himſelf the chief of the *Fronde*, and was followed by ſeveral other Princes, who engaged in it from different motives: Henry of Orleans *, Duke de Longueville, becauſe the Cardinal had refuſed him the Government of Havre de Grace, the only town he wanted, in order to be abſolute

* He was deſcended from the famous Count de Dunois, baſtard of the Duke of Orleans, great grandfather to Francis I.

maſter

Maſter of that province: Francis de Vendome, Duke of Beaufort, out of hatred to the Miniſter, who had impriſoned him in the very beginning of the Regency: Charles of Lorrain, Duke d'Elbœuf, from the hopes that he himſelf ſhould find means to govern ſingly the whole party. Frederic-Maurice, Duke of Bouillon, who was returned from Rome two years before, ought to have been proof againſt the ſeducing arts then practiſed. He poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, all the qualities neceſſary to diſcern the good cauſe, and to ſupport it; beſides, he had ſuffered in the affair of Count de Soiſſons and that of Cinqmars, more than was ſufficient to give him for ever a diſguſt to factions: but, the unhappy ſituation of his affairs, and the ſlowneſs with which the exchange of Sedan was carried on, prompted him to liſten to the arguments of the Coadjutor and of Longueil: beſides, the Ducheſs of Bouillon, who was accuſed of having a Spaniſh heart, urged him to break with the Court, by exhibiting to him greater advantages to be expected with regard to his Houſe, from Spain, than he could hope for from France. He could not reſiſt the ſollicitations of a woman, of whom Cardinal de Retz ſays, "That had ſhe been as ſincere as ſhe was witty, beautiful, affable and virtuous, ſhe would have been a finiſhed wonder." To theſe prime chiefs of the Fronde, were joined the Duke de Briſac, becauſe of his relation with the Coadjutor; the Marquis de Vitri, out of diſguſt for being refuſed his father's commiſſion, which was granted him afterwards; Marſhal de la Motte-Houdancourt, out of revenge for his having been impriſoned four years by the Court; the Duke de la Tremoille, at the inſtigation of his mother, ſiſter to the Duke of Bouillon; Louis de la Tremoille, Marquis de Noirmoutier, out of hatred to the Prince of Condé, who had treated him but indifferently at the battle of Lens: An. 1649.

An. 1649. Lens; the Duke of Luines, from a religious zeal for the opinions he had imbibed; laſtly, the Duke de la Rochefocault, out of affection for the Ducheſs of Longueville. Love often unites with politicks, and women contribute very near as much as men to the revolution of States. The *Fronde* had its heroines; the Ducheſſes of Longueville, Chevreuſe and Montbaſon, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in it; and the Princeſs Palatine, who for her political abilities, deſerved to be compared with Queen Elizabeth of England, went afterwards in to the ſame faction.

The Prince of Condé declares for the Court againſt the *Frondeurs*.

The Court ſeeing the ſtorm, and the number of its enemies increaſe in this manner, placed its whole confidence in the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé; and imagined, that their union with the King and Queen would defeat all the meaſures which the Frondeurs had taken. The Prime Miniſter had won over the former, by means of the Abbot de la Riviere, who, from being an obſequious attendant, was become entire maſter of that Prince. This ambitious Abbot was flattered by the hopes of having a Cardinal's hat, for which he was ſo bold as to conteſt with the Prince of Conti. The Court was particularly ſtudious to pleaſe the Prince of Condé; his ſtrength of mind, his reputation in war, and the ſplendor of his victories, qualified him better than any other perſon, to check the contagious evil of ſedition, and ſtrike terror into the boldeſt. The Cardinal repreſented to him, that the Parliament would invade, by inſenſible degrees, the whole authority of the Kingdom; that this body would aſſume, not only the right of depoſing the Prime Miniſter, but alſo that of taking cogniſance of military affairs; that, in caſe theſe uſurpations were not oppoſed, it perhaps would go as great lengths as the Parliament of England, and would extend its power ſo as to preſcribe laws to its

its Maſters: that if any abuſes had been committed, the Parliament ought by humble remonſtrances to apply to the King for a reformation of them, in whom alone the ſovereign legiſlative power reſides; and laſtly, that the Prince, for his own ſake, ſhould cruſh an enterprize which tended to the deſtruction of the Royal Family. Theſe repreſentations made a ſtrong impreſſion on the Prince, ſo that he declared immediately for what was right, and accompanied the Duke of Orleans to the Parliament. A ſuperior genius is ever in extremes, let the cauſe which he eſpouſes be good or bad. Scarce had the Preſident Viole, with an air of enthuſiaſm, invoked the Holy Ghoſt, to enlighten the underſtandings of thoſe Princes, but Condé roſe up, and commanded him to be ſilent; the young counſellors murmured: the Prince was provoked at this noiſe, and threaten'd them with his hand as well as voice. That inſtant he loſt the affection of the Parliament, and the people's love began to cool. An. 1649.

From this time, Condé employ'd all his thoughts to reduce the Parliament by force of arms. 'Twas ſuggeſted to him, that the ſureſt and moſt expeditious way would be, to beſiege Paris; that if he ſeized upon all the avenues, and hinder'd the entrance of proviſions, the populace, out of fear that they ſhould be ſtarved, would turn againſt the Parliament, and look upon it as the ſole cauſe of all their calamities. The Prince approved of this extraordinary propoſal, becauſe he had given a looſe to his anger, which conſider'd nothing as impoſſible, and ſo reſolved to block up Paris. Immediately the King, all his houſhold, Cardinal Mazarin, and the Miniſters of State, went to St. Germain en Laye. This departure, or rather this flight, pleaſed the faction, and was cenſured by the people, as unworthy of Majeſty. The inhabitants of Paris exclaimed againſt all thoſe who The Court leaves Paris.

An. 1649. had adviſed it, and 'twas called, *L'enlevement du Roi*, or *the forcible carrying off of the King*.

Blockade of Paris, and a general revolution in the Provinces.

In the mean time the Prince, with ſix or ſeven thouſand men, blocked up Paris, and ſeized upon all the places round it, whence the city might be furniſhed with proviſions. The Parliament, on the other ſide, nominated the Prince of Conti Generaliſſimo of their forces; the Dukes d'Elbeuf and de Beaufort, the Duke of Bouillon and Marſhal de la Motte, Generals under him; the Dukes de Briſſac and de Luines, the Marquiſſes de Vitri and de Noirmontier, as Lieutenant Generals under them. The inſtant Paris had declared, the reſt of the Kingdom began to move. The Parliament wrote letters to all the cities and ſuperior courts, to invite them to unite with it againſt the common enemy; for thus they entitled the Prime Miniſter. The fire of diſcord ſoon ſpread itſelf into all the Provinces; Guyenne, Provence, Normandy, and ſeveral cities, join'd with the Parliament of Paris.

The Queen writes to Viſcount de Turenne, to ſound his diſpoſitions.

In theſe great diſorders, Mazarin had recourſe to the Viſcount de Turenne, who was in the army in Germany, and ſent to ſound his inclinations. The Queen, the Prince of Condé, and the Cardinal wrote ſeveral times to the Viſcount, to inform him of the error which the Duke of Bouillon had committed, and to complain of it. Her Majeſty, in the ſeveral letters ſhe writ to him, gave him the ſtrongeſt and moſt tender aſſurances of her friendſhip and eſteem, and promiſed very ſolemnly to reward his ſervices*.

The Cardinal's letter to the Viſcount.

The Cardinal's letters ran in a higher ſtrain than thoſe of her Majeſty. "I never, ſaid he to him, "felt a more ſenſible diſpleaſure, than when I "heard the error which the Duke of Bouillon has "committed, who, at laſt, has declared for the Par- "liament againſt the King. I was ſo much the "more aſtoniſhed at it, as he knew that you are

* See the Authorities, No. IV.

"hav

" have the command of the army in Flanders this An. 1646.
" year: That his Majeſty had given you the Go-
" vernment of Alſace, and other valuable employ-
" ments; that, with regard to the exchange of
" Sedan, the Court waited only till the Duke of
" Orleans, eas'd of the gout, ſhould be able to
" aſſiſt at the Council, in which the laſt hand would
" be put to that affair, and very much to his ad-
" vantage; and that with regard to the honours of
" your Houſe, his Majeſty would ſatisfy him alſo.
" Nothing is ſo true, as that the eſteem and paſſion
" I have for you and all things in which your in-
" tereſt is concern'd, are carried to as high a pitch
" as they can poſſibly be for any perſon: and on this
" occaſion, I cannot forbear obſerving to you, that
" 'tis no ill proof of my eſteem and affection, when
" the Duke of Modena and Prince Caſimir, now
" King of Poland, were both very urgent to marry the
" eldeſt of my nieces, (not to mention the addreſſes
" made by moſt of the Princes and Lords of the
" greateſt diſtinction in the Kingdom) I yet courted
" you, and did all I could to beſtow her upon you.
" You are very well perſuaded, that it was neither
" your eſtate nor employments, which made me de-
" ſirous of this match. The declaration I here
" make in writing, is not very much to my advan-
" tage: but I could not forbear making it, and
" even with pleaſure; ſince it will ſerve, at leaſt,
" to prove the falſeneſs of thoſe, who have dared
" to aſſure you by letter, that I had no kindneſs
" or affection for you. You will receive a grant
" for the Government of Alſace, and diſpatches for
" the Bailywicks of Haguenau and of Tanc. I write
" at the ſame time to the Sieur Hervart, ordering
" him to employ all his credit and that of his
" friends, to raiſe immediately a fund wherewith
" to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Officers of the ar-
" my, and I doubt not but he will obey implicitly,

An. 1649. " and without the leaſt heſitation, all your com-
" mands."

The Viſcount's anſwer to the Court and the Cardinal.

Hervart, afterwards Comptroller-General, was commanded to deliver theſe letters and grants to the Viſcount de Turenne. The Marquis de Ruvigni, his intimate friend, was likewiſe ſent to him; but the preſſing inſtances of this friend met with no more ſucceſs than the offers and promiſes of the Court. Turenne courageouſly anſwered the Queen and the Prince of Condé, that he could not accept of any employment till the troubles were appeaſed; and wrote to the Cardinal, " * That this was " not a ſeaſon for him to think of his private in-" tereſt: that he was greatly obliged to his Emi-" nence, for the deſign he had to beſtow one of " his nieces upon him in marriage; but that reli-" gion was a direct obſtacle to it: that he was ex-" tremely ſorry to hear of the diſorders which reign-" ed in Paris, and the ſhare his brother had in them: " and that he would never do any thing which " ſhould interfere with the fidelity he owed his Ma-" jeſty." In another letter, he did not ſcruple to obſerve to him, " That he look'd upon the block-" ade of Paris as a very bold ſtep during a mino-" rity: that he could not approve it; and that, if " the Cardinal continued to uſe the people with ſo " much ſeverity, he muſt not expect he would be " any longer his friend: that he was going to cross " the Rhine with his army, purſuant to the orders " he had received from Court to march back his " troops into France after the concluſion of the " peace; but that, upon his arrival at Paris, he " would not favour either the rebellion of the Par-" liament, or the injuſtice of the Prime Miniſter."

The Viſcount declares his intentions to the army.

The Viſcount, full of the ſentiments he ex-preſſed to the Cardinal, aſſembled the Officers of his army, and laid before them the deplorable con-

* MSS. Mem. of Viſcount de Turenne, and his letters to Cardinal Mazarin.

lition of France; exhorted them to follow him, and declared to them, that he marched with no other view than to ſupplicate the King to return to Paris, to make the Cardinal give an account of his adminiſtration, to pay the Weymarians the ſums due to them, and to reward the French troops who had ſerved under him. This diſcourſe was followed by a Manifeſto he publiſhed, to ſhew the rectitude of his intentions. An. 1649.

The Court being now no longer able to doubt of the Viſcount's diſpoſitions, ſent expreſs orders to the army, not to acknowledge him any longer as their General; and caus'd three hundred thouſand crowns to be diſtributed among the troops, promiſing, at the ſame time, to give them the ſix months pay due to them. Half of the army was wrought upon, ſix regiments whereof marched to Briſac, and three more to Philipsburg; the other half, tho' very wavering, continuing ſtill with the Viſcount. Turenne, when he found the troops were ſatisfied, and that he could not put in execution the pacific deſigns he had propoſed, ordered the General Officers to march the reſt of the army to join D'Erlac, to whom the Court had ſent a commiſſion to command the forces; and after diveſting himſelf of the Generalſhip, and exhorting the Officers to obedience, he retir'd with fifteen or twenty of his friends to Holland, to reſide there till the troubles ſhould be pacified. He retires into Holland.

His Majeſty's troops had already ſeized upon all the poſts in the neighbourhood of Paris, Charenton excepted. The Prince of Conti had poſſeſſed himſelf of this town; had fortified, and thrown three thouſand men into it; it was the only road by which proviſions were carried to the capital. The Prince of Condé marched to attack it the eighth of February, and carried it in ſight of the Parliament's forces, and ten thouſand Pariſians under arms, who Peace of Ruel.

An. 1649. were but mere ſpectators of his victory. This action, and ſome others, equally diſadvantageous to the party, added to the Viſcount's retreat, inſpired the chiefs of the rebellion with pacific ſentiments. All the Generals, the Duke de Beaufort excepted, who could not ſuppreſs the hatred he bore to the Cardinal, caſt about each to make his private peace, and every one held a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the Court-party. Deputies were nominated on each ſide; conferences were held at Ruel; and notwithſtanding the uninterrupted intrigues of the Coadjutor, a profeſſed enemy to peace, it was at length agreed, that the Court ſhould grant a general pardon; and that all declarations made ſince the day of the barricades, ſhould be revoked and annulled. The Prince of Conti had the government of Damvilliers; the Duke de Longueville that of Pont-de-l'arche; the Marquis de Noirmontier a patent of Duke; and Brouſſel was appointed Governor of the Baſtille. His Majeſty declared at the ſame time, that in exchange for the Principalities of Sedan, he would immediately give the Duke of Bouillon an equivalent for that Sovereignty in lands of his own demeſnes; that the promiſe which had been made him, with regard to rank, ſhould be punctually executed; that in the diſpoſal of the command of armies, his Majeſty would ſhew a regard to the merit, ſervices and birth of the Viſcount de Turenne. In execution of this article, the King gave a Brevet, by which it was decreed, that the Duke of Bouillon, the Viſcount de Turenne, and their deſcendants, ſhould have in France, the rank of Princes deſcended from a Sovereign Houſe *.

The Viſcount returns to Paris.

Upon the faith of what had been done at Ruel, the Viſcount left Holland, landed at Dieppe, came poſt to Paris, and went two days after to the Court, which was at Compeigne, where the Car-

* See the Authorities, N. V.

dinal (reſolved to diſſemble all) procured him a very gracious reception. Such was the iſſue of the firſt war of Paris: neither of the two parties gain'd its end. The Cardinal and the Parliament preſerved all their authority, the former at the Court, the latter over the people †. An. 1649.

Origin of the miſunderſtanding between Cardinal Mazarin and the Prince of Condé.

The brand of civil diſcord, far from being extinguiſhed by this peace, was going to be lighted up again, by a miſunderſtanding, which broke out between the Prince of Condé and Cardinal Mazarin. As the Prime Miniſter had reaped the benefit of the exploits and protection of the Prince, he was for ever expoſed to the demands, complaints and menaces of Condé. Small ſervices ſooth, but great ones oppreſs; they give too great an aſcendant over the perſon who has received them; ſuch is the falſe delicacy of ſelf-love. The duration of gratitude depends more on the eſteem conceived for the benefactor, than on the greatneſs of the benefit. The eſtrangement between the Prince and the Prime Miniſter increaſed daily; but the refuſal the Prince met with of thoſe employments he aſked, was not the cauſe of their rupture. If Condé deſired favours from the Court, he deſired yet more to merit them. Provoked by the perpetual contradictions he met with, he vented his anger publickly in bitter raillies upon Mazarin, whoſe reſentments were the more violent, as he carefully kept them in. The Cardinal endeavour'd by various means to ſoften him; but finding he could not hope to obtain his friendſhip, he reſolved to labour for his deſtruction. At the time that he deluded him with the hopes of new employments, he endeavoured to win over ſuch perſons as might be of greateſt ſervice to him. For this purpoſe he addreſs'd himſelf particularly to the Duke de Bouillon, and to the Viſcount de Turenne,

† Sec Labardæus de bello civili & Priolo.

An. 1649. believing that they would be able to ſupport him by their counſels and their valour.

Impriſonment of the Prince.

The Prince of Condé perceiv'd the Cardinal's machinations and inſincerity; for which reaſon, to draw over the *Fronde* to his party, he reconciled himſelf to his brother, his ſiſter and the Duke de Longueville: but the other chiefs of the *Frondeurs*, finding that he made his court to them, merely to render them ſubſervient to his paſſions, fell off from him inſenſibly. After ſome months ſpent in intrigues, the Prince, now highly exaſperated, quarrelled openly with them; and, hoping to make himſelf leader of the *Fronde*, he, in order to drive them from Paris, charged them with a deſign againſt his life; the aſſaſſination of one of his domeſtics in his coach ſerving him for a proof. From that moment all the Coadjutor's hatred was rouzed, and his vindictive temper broke out with fury againſt the Prince. The preſent juncture of affairs was favourable to the ambitious Prelate. The Court was deſirous of winning him back, and was in ſo much the more dread of Condé, as he now lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with his brother the Prince of Conti, and his brother-in-law the Duke de Longueville. The reſult of the frequent conferences between the Coadjutor, the Queen, and the Cardinal, was, that the Princes ſhould be ſeized. But to put this in execution, it was abſolutely neceſſary to obtain the conſent of the Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant General of the Regency. The Duke was governed by Abbot de la Riviere: the Abbot was devoted to the Prince of Condé, and inclined the Duke of Orleans to follow, implicitly, all the ſentiments of the Prince, from the time that the latter had promiſed him the Cardinal's hat deſigned for the Prince of Conti. The Coadjutor, ever more capable of deſtroying than building up, ſoon found means to ruin the favourite in the mind of his Maſter,

Maſter, and to aſſume, himſelf, an aſcendant over the Duke of Orleans. In the mean time Condé, full of confidence, continued to treat the Cardinal without any ceremony or regard, and to exaſperate the Frondeurs to the utmoſt; acting with as much ſecurity as though he had lived in the midſt of his friends. But at length, the eighteenth of January, the three Princes being come, at the uſual hour, to council, in the *Palais Royal*, were ſeized by Guitaut, Captain of the Queen's guards, and carried to the caſtle of Vincennes. At this news, all the Prince of Condé's friends diſappeared; the Ducheſs de Longueville ſet out that very evening for Normandy, with a guard of threeſcore horſe, commanded by the Duke de la Rochefoucault: the Duke of Bouillon made for Turenne: the Marquiſs de Boutteville, afterwards Duke of Luxembourg, and many more went into Burgundy. The inhabitants of Paris, whom the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor kept conſtant in the hatred they had conceived againſt the Prince, ever ſince the blockade of their City, made public rejoycings upon his being impriſoned. They lighted bonfires in ſeveral parts of Paris, and moſt people ſaid, that the Cardinal, after ſuch a blow, *was no longer* Mazarin. An. 1650.

The Princes were no ſooner impriſoned, but the Cardinal ſent the Marquiſs de Ruvigni to the Viſcount de Turenne, to aſſure him of his friendſhip, to inveſt him with the command of the army of Flanders, to offer him again one of his nieces in marriage, and to give him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he would, henceforward, ſhare his fortune with him. The Viſcount, who never ſquared his friendſhip by proſperity or adverſity, rejected all theſe offers. Touched with the misfortunes of Condé; perſuaded that in preventing the ſacrifice of a hero of the blood of France, he ſhould do ſervice to his country; prepoſſeſſed with the falſe notion, that war might

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The Viſcount declares for the Prince of Condé.

An. 1650. might be made againſt the Cardinal, without fighting againſt the King, and with ſeveral other maxims which were authorized at that time, upon the ſpecious pretence of the public good, he gave way to the impulſes of his generous nature, and reſolved to ſet the Princes at liberty, whatever might be the conſequence. His motives were the leſs to be ſuſpected, as Condé, ſo far from courting his friendſhip, before his impriſonment, had very much neglected it, and had concealed from him all his ſecret machinations againſt the Court. The Viſcount judged that it would be mean in him to abandon the Prince; and fancying himſelf no more than a generous friend, became an undutiful ſubject.

The Viſcount leaves Paris, and retires to Stenai with the Ducheſs of Longueville.

He left Paris in February, and went to Stenai *, a ſtrong place in Champaign, belonging to the Prince of Condé. The Ducheſs of Longueville came hither to him, after having endeavoured, but in vain, to raiſe an inſurrection in Normandy. An amiable, witty and unfortunate Princeſs, muſt have been very capable of engaging in her intereſts a hero, whom virtue and war never rendered i nſible. 'Tis pretended, that love for the ſiſter contributed as much to the falſe ſteps the Viſcount took, as friendſhip for the brother.

The Viſcount aſſembles forces, in order to free the Princes.

The Cardinal ſent a ſecond time to try to gain Turenne by new offers; but nothing could move him. The Viſcount ſold his plate, and the Ducheſs de Longueville her jewels, to raiſe forces. At the ſame time he ſollicited thoſe which he believed were devoted to the Prince of Condé, and ſuch Governors as were diſguſted with the Court, to join with him; but he could not bring over above twenty or thirty officers. He then addreſſed himſelf to the regiments which had ſerved under him in Germany, but brought over thoſe only of Tu-

* The Court had given this place, as alſo Jametz and Clermont to the Prince, as a reward for the ſervices he had done the Crown.

renne

renne, la Couronne, and du Paſſage, with part of that of the Marquiſs de Beauvau, who was always the Viſcount's friend. Theſe troops were quartered round about Stenai; and he threw into the citadel eight companies of Turenne's regiment, who guarded it till the Princes were ſet at liberty. An. 1650.

Some days after, the King's forces, commanded by the Marquiſs de Ferté-Senneterre, attacked thoſe of the Viſcount, defeated the regiment of du Paſſage, and laid waſte all the country round. Turenne, now going to be over-powered, was forced to have recourſe to the Spaniards. He obtained immediately, from the Governor of Montmedi, fifteen hundred horſe, and ſome companies of foot, till ſuch time as the treaty, which himſelf and the Ducheſs of Longueville were negotiating with the Archduke, might be concluded. The Count de Fuenſaldagne came, in the name of that Prince, to the city of Marche, to confer with Turenne *. The Archduke began, by requiring the city and citadel of Stenai to be put into his hands; but the Viſcount refuſed to give up the latter, he having been always reſolved to unite no longer with the Spaniards, than the promiſe he had made to endeavour at the liberty of the Princes ſhould force him to it; beſides, he was deſirous of being himſelf poſſeſſed of a ſtrong hold, into which he might retire in all ſeaſons, be his own maſter, and not ſubject to the Spaniards. After ſix weeks conference in Marche, in which nothing was agreed upon, Don Gabriel de Toledo having been ſent to Stenai, concluded the treaty there. The chief articles were, that his Catholic Majeſty ſhould furniſh two hundred thouſand crowns for raiſing of troops, and fifty thouſand crowns a month for their maintenance; that he ſhould pay threeſcore thouſand crowns a year to the Ducheſs of Longueville and the Viſcount de Turenne, for their private expences,

The Spaniards ſend him ſuccours, and treat with him.

April 20.

* See the Viſcount's memoirs.

and

An. 1640. and thoſe of her friends; that he ſhould reinforce the troops which the Viſcount was to raiſe, with two thouſand foot, and three thouſand effective horſe, armed and maintained at the King's expence; that he ſhould not come to an accommodation with France, unleſs ſuch friends of the Princes, as had been diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates, employments or dignities, were entirely reſtored to them; that he ſhould garriſon ſuch frontier towns as ſhould be taken; but that with regard to thoſe which ſhould be ſeized within the Kingdom, they ſhould be guarded by the Viſcount's troops; that the Ducheſs of Longueville and the Viſcount ſhould give up to his Catholic Majeſty the city of Stenai, the citadel excepted, as ſoon as this ſhould be required; and laſtly, that if the Princes ſhould be ſet at liberty, before a peace was concluded between the two Crowns, they ſhould take up arms with their adherents, and employ all their credit, and all their force to procure a ſafe and honourable peace between France and Spain.

The Viſcount writes to the Queen.

After the ſigning of this treaty, which was ratified the twenty ſecond of May, by the King of Spain, Viſcount de Turenne writ a letter to her Majeſty, in which he repreſented, very reſpectfully, "That ſhe abandoned herſelf too implicitly to "the counſels of Mazarin; that in impriſoning the "Prince of Condé, whoſe birth entitled him to one "of the chief ſeats in the Council, during the mi-"nority, ſhe had made a too rigorous uſe of her "authority; that the only motive of the Prime "Miniſter's diſguſt againſt the Prince, and thoſe "of his party, was, becauſe they endeavoured to "put an end to a cruel war, between two Kings, "brother and ſon to the Queen." Though all the reaſons he offers in this letter, are founded upon falſe principles, yet there appears in it a wonderful candor and nobleneſs of ſpirit, and a perfect diſintereſtedneſs. We find there the ſentiments of a hero,

hero, but of a hero under an illuſion. He con- An. 1650.
cludes with theſe words, which ſhew the high idea he entertained of the great Condé. "A Prince "who has ſo often ventured his life, and been la- "viſh of his blood at the head of your armies, "to make your name formidable to all your ene- "mies, and with no other motive than to enlarge "your frontiers, as he has already done, by ſo "many ſtrong and important cities taken, and "whole Provinces conquered by him, ſeems to have "acquired a right to counſel you, in the cabinet, "to peace, without being ſuſpected, of holding a "correſpondence with your enemies, or being "wanting in reſpect to your Majeſty. Give him, "therefore, Madam, an opportunity of joining "in ſo noble a work, for otherwiſe his oppreſſ- "ed innocence will add to the war between the "two Crowns, a civil and inteſtine war, in which "you will ſee your ſubjects tear one another to "pieces, and that properly for the quarrel of a pri- "vate foreigner againſt a Prince of the Blood of "France, &c."

The Viſcount's fidelity to his country, at the time he was diſguſted.

* The troops were no ſooner aſſembled, but the Spaniards would engage the Viſcount to march an army into Champaign, whilſt they themſelves ſhould be in motion with another in Picardy; but he ſuſpecting they had a deſign to recover the cities on the frontiers, which had been conquered by the French, refuſed to ſeparate, and inſiſted peremptorily upon their marching the united armies into France, to give him the better opportunity of ſetting the Princes at liberty, and procuring a general peace. By this firmneſs, he prevented the loſs of thoſe conqueſts the King had made in Flanders, employ'd the Spaniards elſewhere, and endeavoured to bring them into the heart of the Kingdom, in which all the cities that ſhould be taken, were to be

* Duke of York's memoirs.

entirely

An. 1650. entirely at his command: and, in this manner, was he careful of his country's intereſt, at the ſame time that he had taken up arms againſt it. † The Spaniards debated, in full council, whether they ſhould truſt him with the command of their troops; and reſolved to do this, from the knowledge they had of his innate probity; though he had no other pledge to give them than his promiſes.

He heads the Spaniſh troops, and beſieges La Câtelet and Guiſe.

About the middle of June, he put himſelf at the head of the Spaniſh army, compoſed of ſeventeen or eighteen thouſand men; they laid ſiege to Le Câtelet, a ſmall town at the ſource of the Scheld. They firſt won the ſuburbs; and making a lodgment on the counterſcarp, attacked the place with ſo much vigour, that the third day from the opening of the ſiege, the peaſants, who had fled into it for refuge, with their wives, their children, and their effects, mutiny'd, and forced the Governor to ſurrender. About the end of the ſiege the Archduke, who was in Bruſſels, uneaſy at ſeeing the Spaniſh troops under the command of a French General, and in France too, came to the camp, and immediately after the taking of Câtelet, laid ſiege to Guiſe, and opened the trenches in three different places. The miners were got to the walls, and the inhabitants fearing the city would be ſtormed, abandoned it, and retired, with their effects, into the caſtle. Againſt this the Spaniards then turned their whole force, and after having ſprung a mine, imagined they might attempt a ſtorm; but by the rubbiſh from the walls, the place, which was ſteep, was rendered ſtill more inacceſſible. During this interval, Marſhal du Pleſſis-Praſlin, appointed General of the French army, by the King, who was come to Compiégne, poſted himſelf between Landrecies and the camp of the beſiegers, to cut off their proviſions; and he inter-

† Mem. de Frem. d'Ablanc. & de Langlade.

cepted

cepted a very conſiderable convoy. The roads were grown very bad, occaſioned by the heavy rains; and the Spaniards, for want of horſes, being unable to bring any proviſions to their camp, ſo great a ſcarcity enſued, that they were forced to raiſe the ſiege, and ſeek for proviſions towards La Capelle. The Archduke and the Viſcount beſieged this town about the beginning of Auguſt, and taking it in ten days, they croſſed the river Oiſe. An. 1650.

He enters France to ſet the Princes at liberty.

Turenne was deſirous of marching directly to Paris; but the Spaniards refuſing to go, he drew near Vervines with a detachment of two thouſand horſe, to obſerve the King's army, which was at Marle. He was ſoon maſter of the whole country, by the retreat of Marſhal du Pleſſis-Praſlin, who had entrenched himſelf behind the moraſſes of Notre Dame de Lieſſe, and he ſeized upon Rhetel, Chateau, Porcien and Neufchatel. Then leaving, near the laſt named town, the Spaniſh forces, who again refuſed to follow him, he croſſed the river Aine at the head of three thouſand horſe and five hundred muſketeers, and marched towards Paris. Marquiſs d'Hocquincourt was at Fimes, covered by the river Vêle, with ten regiments of horſe, and an hundred muſketeers. The Viſcount defeated him, took four or five hundred priſoners, and obliged him to retire to Soiſſons. Knowing that the King's army was advanced as far as Rheims, he poſted a body of troops behind the Marne, and another at la Ferté-Milon, in order to ſeize upon all the paſſes. He intended to go next day and inveſt the caſtle of Vincennes, in hopes to deliver the Princes; and doubtleſs would have ſet them at liberty, had not the Court already convey'd them to Marcouſſi, eight leagues from Paris, in the road to Orleans. Failing in his attempt, he returned back, repaſſed the river Aîne, and rejoined with the Spaniſh army.

An. 1645. Negotiations for Peace. Mouſon beſieged and taken.

And now ſome propoſals were made for peace. Don Gabriel de Toledo went to Paris, and the troops continued unactive, during a month, at Fimes, whither the Court had ſent Marquis de Verderonne. As the negotiations proved abortive, the Archduke held a council, to conſider which of the frontier cities it would be proper to beſiege. The Spaniards were deſirous of marching to Rocroi, but the Viſcount prevailed with them to prefer Mouſon, the taking of which might preſerve Stenai, this being but two leagues from it, and would extend the winter quarters farther, the ſeaſon of which was now approaching. About the end of September Mouſon was inveſted, but the continuance of the rains, and the few ordnance that the Spaniards had, retarded the taking of this town till the middle of November. The Spaniſh army, which had been very much weakened, and harraſſed, by the length of the ſiege, took up their winter quarters in Flanders. The Viſcount endeavoured, in vain, to keep them with him; ſo that he was obliged to continue with only eight thouſand men upon the frontiers, between the Aîne and the Meuſe, to guard the ſeveral towns he had taken.

The Dukes de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucault declare for the Princes.

Whilſt the Viſcount was thus fighting to free the Princes, the Duke of Bouillon had taken up arms in the ſame cauſe at Turenne, whither he withdrew immediately after their impriſonment. The Duke had engaged the year before, in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with Condé, from the hopes that the credit of this Prince would be great enough to complete the exchange of Sedan. Upon advice of the Duke's motions in Turenne, the Court ſeized, at his houſe in Paris, the Ducheſs his Lady, and Charlotte de la Tour his ſiſter, who having eſcaped through the vent-hole of a cellar, were taken a ſecond time and carried to the Baſtille. Their confinement, ſo far from bringing over the Duke, as the Court had hoped,

exaſpe-

exaſperated him the more, and engaged him to declare openly for the Princes. The Duke of Rochefoucault, who had left the Ducheſs of Longueville at Dieppe, was gone to his Government of Poitou, to prepare the minds of its inhabitants for rebellion. Under the pretext of his father's interment, he had aſſembled the Gentlemen and his vaſſals, to the number of 2000 horſe and 600 foot; but hearing that Marſhal de la Meilleraie was ordered to march againſt him, he fled for protection to the Duke of Bouillon in Turenne, where they concerted meaſures to engage the Bourdelois * to take up arms again. There had been commotions the year before in Guyenne, occaſioned by the proceedings of the Duke d'Epernon, who was Governor of it. D'Epernon, proud of being born of a mother, who deſcended from the laſt Earls of Foix, and of the court which Cardinal Mazarin paid to the Duke of Candale his ſon, to engage him to marry Anna-Maria Martinozzi, the Cardinal's niece; had behaved with inſupportable pride towards the Gentry and the Parliament, who excited the Bourdelois againſt him, and drove him from their city. Although the treaty concluded at Ruel ſeemed to have quieted theſe feuds, there yet remained, with regard to the Duke d'Epernon, a ſpirit of diffidence which the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault took advantage of, to engage the Bourdelois to declare in favour of the Princes; and they were ſo much the leſs averſe to this, as, according to all the Court manifeſto's, the greateſt crime laid to the Prince of Condé, was his having ſupported vigorouſly the intereſts of the Bourdelois, in oppoſition to the Duke d'Epernon. An. 1650.

To give the greater credit and luſtre to this rebellion, and to animate the zeal of the Gaſcoins, the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochfoucault ſollicited the Princeſs of Condé, who with her ſon the Duke d'Enguien The Princeſs of Condé and the Duke d'Enguien arrive at Turenne, and go from thence to Bourdeaux.

* The natives of Bourdeaux and the country round it.

An. 1650. d'Enguien, an infant, had fled to Montrond in Berry, to leave her aſylum and come to Turenne, whence they would conduct her to Bourdeaux. Accordingly the Princeſs ſet out, and the Dukes coming to meet her with eight ſquadrons, conducted her to Turenne. She ſtaid a week in this city, during which the Duke of Bouillon, though in very unhappy circumſtances, treated her with magnificence. Her ſtay, which was neceſſary to animate the Bourdelois ſtill more, gave the Chevalier de la Valette an opportunity of marching with a large detachment of the King's army to the road which the Princeſs was to paſs, in order to intercept her. The Duke of Bouillon being informed of this, got together by ringing the alarum-bell, all the inhabitants of the Viſcounty, and formed a body of near 2500 men, 400 of whom were Gentlemen. He placed the Princeſs and the Duke d'Enguien in the centre of this little army, and marched directly to Montfort, where he was joined by 1500 men, troopers or foot ſoldiers. The Chevalier de la Valette, fearing he ſhould be intercepted, retired with the utmoſt diligence: nevertheleſs, in ſpite of all his haſte, he was overtaken at Montelard in Perigord, whence, running away without once engaging, he eſcaped to Bergerac, but loſt all his baggage. The Princeſs went forwards towards Bourdeaux, where the inhabitants received her with the higheſt teſtimonies of joy. Though the Parliament and the Sheriffs did not wait upon her in their formalities, there were very few but gave her the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of being at her devotion.

The Court comes near to Bourdeaux.

The Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, tho' it was oppoſed by the adherents of Duke d'Epernon, were received in the city two days after. The Court, hearing of the late tranſactions, cauſed Marſhal de la Meilleraie to march his army towards Bourdeaux; and the King, leaving Paris under the command

command of the Duke of Orleans, ſet out with the Queen, the Cardinal, and the whole Court. The Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, who had aſſembled in a very ſhort time, near 3000 foot and 7 or 800 horſe, had poſſeſſed themſelves of Caſtelnau, four leagues from Bourdeaux, and would have advanced ſtill farther, had they not heard of the approach of Marſhal de la Meilleraie, and that of Duke d'Epernon, who had joined his troops to thoſe of the Chevalier de la Valette. On theſe advices, the Princeſs ſent the Marquiſſes de Silleri and Sauvebœuf to Spain, with full powers to treat with his Catholick Majeſty, in the ſame manner as the Ducheſs de Longueville and Viſcount de Turenne had done before, with regard to the liberty of the Princes, and the concluſion of a peace between the two Crowns. An. 1647.

Duke d'Epernon advances and attacks the quarters of the Dukes de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucault.

The Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, after having left a garriſon in Caſtelnau, poſted the reſt of the forces at Blanquefort, two leagues from Bourdeaux. Here Duke d'Epernon came and attacked their quarters, wer Chambon a Major General, commanded in their abſence. Chambon, being unable to defend the entrance of his quarters againſt Duke d'Epernon's army, becauſe of its ſuperiority, retreated in good order, by means of the moraſſes and canals with which he was ſurrounded. Then the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, hurried along by the impetuoſity of the populace, ran with a great number of the townſmen, and having joined their forces, returned to combat Duke d'Epernon; but being ſtopt by the ſame canals, they had no opportunity to engage, ſo that only a few ſkirmiſhes were fought, in which the Duke loſt the greateſt number of men. Whilſt his Majeſty's forces advanced nearer every day to Bourdeaux, the King arrived at Libourne, beſieged the caſtle of Vaire on the Dordogne, and hanged the Governor of it, who had ſurrendred at

An. 1650. diſcretion. But to encourage the Bourdelois, who were intimidated and wavering, the rebels hung up by way of repriſal the Baron de Canole *, taken in Fort St. George, of which he was Commander. This bold action ſurpriſed the Court, exaſperated the Queen, and gave freſh ſpirits to the Bourdelois, who now reſolved to ſtand out a ſiege. In this view they raiſed, with the utmoſt diligence, a fort of four ſmall baſtions oppoſite to Bourdeaux, on the other ſide of the river, and laboured very induſtriouſly to fortify the city on every other ſide. 'Twas agreeable to the rules of war, that they ſhould burn and raſe the houſes of the ſuburb called St. Surin, which was open on every ſide, and difficult to maintain; but the citizens, who were maſters on this occaſion, oppoſed it. Endeavours were therefore uſed to preſerve the ſuburb; and, to cover the gate called Digeau, which ſtood neareſt it, they were obliged, for want of other fortifications, to make uſe of a little eminence compoſed of filth and rubbiſh, which, being in the ſhape of a half-moon †, without either parapet or ditch, proved nevertheleſs the ſtrongeſt defence of the place.

Particular account of the ſiege of Bourdeaux.

Cardinal Mazarin, leaving the King at Bourg, came to the army, when a reſolution was taken to attack the ſuburb of S. Surin, in hopes of lodging themſelves the very firſt day, at the gate called Digeau, the half-moon of which, 'twas ſuppoſed, could be eaſily carried. Marſhal de la Meilleraie commanded Palluau to cut off the communication between the ſuburb and the city, whilſt he himſelf ſhould attack the barricades and houſes of the ſuburb; but having charged before Palluau was come up, he met with greater reſiſtance than he had imagined. The muſketeers, who were poſted in the hedges

* This is his name, in Labard's Hiſt. B. 8. and *Canot*, in Lenet's Mem. tom. 2. pag. 93.

† Lenet in Vol. II. pag. 287 of his Memoirs, calls this half-moon a *bed of filth*.

and

and vineyards which covered the ſuburb, firſt ſtopt the forces of his Majeſty, who loſt a great number of ſoldiers, and ſeveral officers. The Duke of Bouillon was poſted in the church-yard of St. Surin, with as many of the townſmen as he had been able to get together, to relieve the poſts; and the Duke of Rochefoucault was at the barricade, this being the principal attack. The action was very warm, 100 or 120 of the townſmen being killed, and ſeven or 800 of the King's troops. Nevertheleſs, the latter forced the barricade, took the ſuburb, but could advance no farther. The Marſhal thought it neceſſary to open the trenches, in order to carry the half-moon. As it had no ditch, the townſmen would not mount guard there, and only ſhot from behind the adjacent walls. The beſiegers attacked this half-moon three times with the flower of their troops, and the Bourdelois made as many ſallies, in every one of which they ſcowered the trench and burnt the lodgments. The ſiege, at the thirteenth day, was not more advanced than the firſt. 'Tis ſurpriſing, that a heap of filth could ſerve as a fortification againſt 11000 regular troops; nothing ſhows more evidently, how far the abilities of a General may go on thoſe occaſions, when all hopes of ſuccour are loſt. The Duke of Bouillon, by the brave defence he made here, and by other well known actions, gave proofs of his great ſkill in the ſcience of war. As the Bourdelois had not infantry enough to relieve the guards of ſuch poſts as were attack'd, and as thoſe who were not wounded were too much harraſſed in fight, Bouillon and Rochefoucault relieved them by the troopers who diſmounted, and they themſelves ſtaid in Bourdeaux, in order that their preſence might prevail with greater numbers to continue there. At laſt Marſhal de la Meilleraie carried on the trench through the paſſage which goes from the Carthuſians to the Archbiſhoprick, and raiſed a bat-

An. 1650.

An. 1650. tery of six pieces of canon which ruined the walls of the city.

Pardon and peace granted to the Bourdelois.

While these things were doing, the Parliament of Paris sent two officers of the great chamber, to intreat her Majesty to pardon the inhabitants of Guyenne. Having paid their compliments to the Queen, they went immediately to Bourdeaux, represented in the strongest terms to the Parliament and to the townsmen the great danger to which they were exposed, offered themselves as sureties for whatever promises the Queen should make, and at last prevailed with the Bourdelois to sue for peace. Deputies from the city followed the two Counsellors who returned to Bourg; and, after a truce of six days, the twenty ninth of September, a treaty was concluded, by which it was stipulated, that the King should pardon his subjects of Bourdeaux; that the Princess of Condé and the Duke d'Enguien should retire to Montrond; that the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault should give their parole of honour never to bear arms against the King; and that his Majesty should come into Bourdeaux with only the guards usually attending him, and send away his forces. Immediately, the Princess of Condé and the Prince her son, the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault left Bourdeaux, and went to Bourg, to pay their compliments to the King and Queen; on their first approaching their Majesties they fell upon their knees, and begged pardon. The Queen received them very graciously, and they dined with Cardinal Mazarin. The conferences they had with his Eminence, to persuade him to set the Princes at liberty and join with them, raised the jealousy of the *Frondeurs*, and afterwards gave occasion to the enlargement of the Princes and the Cardinal's exile. Their Majesties went on board a galley which the Bourdelois had sent them, and made their entry into Bourdeaux, the canon firing, and

October 3.

and in the midſt of publick acclamations. They continued here ten days, during which they reſtored the firſt Preſident and the Officers, who refuſing to join in the rebellion, had left the city. The fifteenth the Court ſet out for Fountainbleau, where they arrived about the end of the month. The Miniſter, proud of his having ſo happily ended the war of Guyenne, no longer ſpared the Frondeurs, and cauſed the three Princes to be conveyed from the caſtle of Marcouſſi to Havre de Grace, whence he thought it would be more difficult for his enemies to reſcue them. An. 1650.

The King's troops march to beſiege Rhetel.

The Cardinal being returned to Paris, heard that he was accuſed of deſtroying the beſt troops in the Kingdom before Bourdeaux, at a time when the Spaniards had advanced very far in Champagne. To quiet theſe murmurs, he formed a deſign of retaking Rhetel; and having reinforced the troops which came from Guyenne, with thoſe drawn out of the garriſons on the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne, he got together an army of 15 or 16000 men, and gave the command to Marſhal du Pleſſis Praſlin, with orders to march and beſiege Rhetel. Nov. 25.

Particulars of the ſiege of Rhetel.

The Viſcount de Turenne had poſſeſſed himſelf of this town in Auguſt of the preceding year, and had appointed Degli Ponti Governor of it, who was reputed the moſt famous warrior of his time for defending cities. He had left a garriſon there of about 17 or 1800 men, and conveyed into it a very large quantity of ammunition and proviſions. Marſhal du Pleſſis ſet out from Châlons with his army, and arrived the ninth of December in ſight of Rhetel, which he inveſted the ſame day. He took up his quarters on both ſides of the river Aîne; and, becauſe the ſeaſon did not permit him to encamp, and that the enemy was at a conſiderable diſtance from the town, they did not draw lines of contravallation *. He preſently opened the trenches on the ſide towards Dec. 7.

* Mem. of du Pleſſis Praſlin, pag. 209.

An. 1650. the Capuchins, winding below the citadel, to attack it at the ſame time with the city. They intended to make a ſecond attack at the ſuburb of the Minims, getting to the end of the bridge by the other ſide of the river, and to attempt the gate which was not well flanked. Marſhal du Pleſſis was ſome time in ſuſpence, ſuppoſing very juſtly, that ſo ſtrong a garriſon would not ſuffer any approaches by a quarter ſo difficult of acceſs, and to which the only way was by croſſing the river Aîne, which was generally pretty rapid, and at that time very much ſwelled by the rains; however, Cardinal Mazarin arrived in the camp, and fixed the reſolution of the Marſhal, who immediately gave orders for attacking the ſuburb. In three days they drove the beſieged out of it, croſſed an arm of the river, and made a breach in the towers which flanked the gate of the city. As the bridge was broke down, they threw large planks over ſuch beams as were ſtill remaining, which the ſoldiers went over, mounted the breach, and made a lodgment on it, in ſpite of the reſiſtance of the beſieged. Degli Ponti, whether his courage failed him, or he had been bribed by the Cardinal, who poſſibly would not have come to the ſiege had he not been ſure of ſucceſs, demanded to capitulate, and baſely ſurrendred the town the fourth day of the ſiege, after having wrote word to the Viſcount the night before, that he was able to hold out four days longer.

The Viſcount comes too late to ſuccour Rhetel.

Turenne, judging that the loſs of Rhetel would draw after it the conqueſt of the ſeveral towns he had taken in Champagne, had reſolved to ſuccour it at all hazards; but he did not care to arrive there till after it was inveſted, that he might find the trenches opened, the canon planted on the battery, and the Royal army ſeparated in their quarters round the city; he being far from imagining, that Degli Ponti having ſo ſtrong a garriſon and ſo well provided, would have made ſo feeble a reſiſtance.

He

He left the neighbourhood of Mountfaucon, between the Meuſe and the Aîne, and after marching four days, arrived an hour before ſun-ſet within a league of Rhetel, where ſome priſoners they took, informed him that the Spaniſh garriſon had juſt before capitulated, and that Marſhal du Pleſſis having raiſed his quarters, upon advice of the Viſcount's approach, had drawn them up in one body on the other ſide of the river. Turenne kept his army in order of battle the whole night, and the next day, being able only to retreat, he returned ſpeedily back, marched four leagues complete without halting once, got to the valley of du Bourg, reſted his forces there, and left behind him ſome Croatian mercenaries, to obſerve whether he ſhould be purſued. On the other ſide, Marſhal du Pleſſis, deſirous of forcing the Viſcount either to fight or repaſs the Meuſe, made every trooper take ſome oats, and marched in the night between the fourteenth and fifteenth towards Genneville, where he arrived at day-break, and there received advice, that the Viſcount was within three leagues of him. Immediately he ſet out, and about nine in the morning approached the Spaniſh army. The Viſcount having notice of this by his Croatians, marched immediately out of the valley, poſſeſſed himſelf of an eminence to the left coming from Rhetel, and made two leagues more, whilſt the King's army marched on an eminence to the right, on the other ſide of the valley *. The thick fog which had prevented their ſeeing each other's march diſperſed, and the two armies perceived one another at the ſame time. The Viſcount ſtill reſolving to retire, and the Marſhal to fight, each continued his road: ſo that the two armies marched above a league on two parallel hills, aſide of each other, within half the diſtance of canon-ſhot. Du Pleſſis Praſlin ſought for ſome commodious

An. 1650.

Decem. 15.

* See the MSS. Mem. of Abbe Raguenet.

An. 1650. ſpot that might engage Turenne to fight, and had already repented his having let ſlip ſeveral opportunities, which he had neglected with no other view, than in the hopes of meeting with one more advantageous. At laſt, noon being come, and conſidering that there would be but little more than three hours ſun, he reſolved to march down into the valley and attack the Spaniards, for fear they ſhould be gone next morning. He therefore made his army halt, between the village of St. Stephen, and that of Sommepi, in the plain called *le Blanc Champ* (the white field,) and gave orders for its being drawn up in order of battle, whilſt he himſelf went and reconnoitred the bottom of the valley.

The two armies draw up in order of battle.

At this motion, the Viſcount found it would be impoſſible to avoid coming to a battle, tho' the match was not equal. 'Twould be a great advantage to him to continue on the hill; but 'twould alſo be no ſmall one to go and attack the Marſhal, before all the infantry, which was not yet come up, ſhould have joined the King's army. He was ſome time in ſuſpence which courſe to take, but at laſt he reſolved on the latter. Immediately he marched down into the valley, and advanced into the plain of Blanc Champ, with his little army compos'd of Germans, Lorrainers and French, who were, in all, but two thouſand five hundred foot, and five thouſand five hundred horſe. They were ſoon drawn up in two lines: he poſted the Germans on the right wing, commanded by la Fauge; the Lorrainers under Count de Ligneville on the left wing; the Marquiſes de Beauvau, Bouteville, Duras and Montauſier with the French ſquadrons, in the firſt line of the main body, and the infantry in the center.

Marſhal du Pleſſis had alſo drawn up his army in two lines: he had given the command of his right wing to Marquiſs de Villequier, and that of the left to Marquis d'Hocquincourt; both Lieutenant Generals

rals: as for the Marſhal, he took his poſt in the center, with the old German Regiments (headed by General Roſen) which had ſerved under Marſhal Turenne in the laſt wars of Germany. An. 1650.

Battle of Rhétel.

The Viſcount took his poſt at the head of his left wing, and marched againſt the right wing of Marſhal du Pleſſis. The Lorrain ſquadrons having preſently doubled, the King's Horſe had time to oppoſe but three ſquadrons againſt them. In this diſpoſition, they advanced ſo near, that the heads of the horſes of the two armies touch'd. The Viſcount exerted himſelf with ſo much vigour, in order to force the Marſhal's right wing, that the Lorrain ſquadrons were very near as much broke as thoſe of the King's army, and in many places they mingled with one another: but at the ſame time, the Marquiſſes de Beauvau, Bouteville, Duras, and Montauſier, quite routed thoſe who oppoſed them, and penetrated to the canon. The right wing had not been ſo ſucceſsful, for la Fauge, who commanded it, tho' he had ſome advantage in the firſt onſet, was in the ſecond taken priſoner, and the Germans fled. Marquis d'Hocquincourt, who commanded the left wing of the Royal army, detach'd Roſen with ſome ſquadrons to purſue them, led on the remainder of his victorious wing to ſuccour Marſhal du Pleſſis, and charg'd the Viſcount. Both parties fought with great fury: the ſquadrons on each ſide were ſeveral times broke, rallied afreſh, and brought on again to the charge. The battle was long, bloody and obſtinate: the canon charged with cartouches, and which the Viſcount had plac'd at the head of his battalions, made a dreadful havock in the King's army: At laſt, Marſhal du Pleſſis having rallied a third line his ſquadrons, and joined his firſt and ſecond lines, firſt charg'd Turenne with the flower of his two wings, and afterwards extending his right and left, ſurrounded him in ſuch a manner, that his

broken

An. 1650. broken diſpers'd battalions were put to flight. He was abandon'd by his whole army, the regiment of Turenne excepted, which was cut to pieces; and himſelf, with only la Berge a lieutenant of his guards, were in the midſt of the Royal ſquadrons †. The Viſcount was known by eight German troopers, who would have taken him; but la Berge and himſelf having killed ſome of them, they diſengaged themſelves from the reſt; and by the greateſt good fortune, withdrew from the midſt of the French, la Berge crying aloud perpetually, that they belong'd to the Royal army, and had been attack'd by the Germans through miſtake. The Viſcount could not ride to any great diſtance, becauſe his horſe had received five wounds: but he met Lavaux, an officer of Beauvau's regiment, who gave him his and the only uſe he made of it, was, to ride to a place of ſafety, for there was now no poſſibility of renewing the combat; the Lorrain and German cavalry, as well as the infantry, were fled, and the artillery was taken, with Don Stephen de Gamarra who commanded it.

The Viſcounts retreat after the loſs of the battle.

After this total defeat, the only thing the Viſcount had to do was to make a retreat. The ſhorteſt way was by the river Aîne; but as the King's troops who were purſuing thoſe that fled, cut off his paſſage, he was obliged to go by the plains of Champaign. As night drew on, and the Royal forces were extremely fatigued, he arrived without any obſtacle at Bar-le-Duc, with 150 horſe. Here Marquis de Duras came up with a hundred more; and the Viſcount having order'd him to march both bodies into Luxembourg, ſet out, after ſix hours ſtay, and attended by twelve or fifteen Gentlemen, went directly to Montmedi, where he found the reſt of his cavalry which had eſcaped. He loſt half his army, twelve hundred were left dead upon the field

† MSS. Mem. of Viſcount de Turenne.

d three thouſand were taken priſoners. Being An. 1650.
ked, a long time afterwards, by an indiſcreet
ung man, how he happen'd to loſe the battles of
ariendal and of Rhetel, he only anſwered, *by my*
n fault. And when ſome Officers affirmed, that he
ad never acted with greater prudence than in thoſe
o engagements, the Viſcount anſwer'd, "Were I
to be a little ſevere upon my ſelf, I would obſerve,
that I loſt the battle of Mariendal, for having
yielded too inadvertently to the importunity of
the Germans, when they demanded quarters;
and that of Rhetel, by my giving too much
credit to the Governor's letter, who promis'd
to hold out four days, the very evening be-
fore he ſurrender'd. I was too eaſy and over-
credulous on theſe occaſions; but that man who
has not committed any errors in war, has not been
long in the ſervice *.

The Viſcount choſe to retire to Montmedi, rather The Viſcount's diſintereſtedneſs.
an to Stenai, of which he was maſter, to remove
l ſuſpicion of his being ſo much diſcourag'd at the
ſs of the battle, as to have thoughts of abandon-
g the Spaniards. The Archduke Leopold was
well ſatisfied with his conduct, that he gave him
wer to fill up all the commiſſions vacant by the
ath of ſuch officers as had been killed in the bat-
; and to give the ſurviving troops, whatever
arters they ſhould deſire in the King of Spain's
minions. He even remitted him, a little after,
hundred thouſand crowns, being part of the
m promiſed by the treaty: but as Turenne knew
at effectual methods were taking to ſet the Princes
liberty, he ſent back the hundred thouſand crowns;
dging it would not be proper to take any money
m the Spaniards, at a time when he hoped his
gagements with them were near expiring.

* See the Elogium of St. Evremont in the 2d Volume.

And,

An. 1650. They treat about the deliverance of the Princes, and the Cardinal's exile.

And, indeed, all things were preparing for the enlargement of the Princes. The conference of the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault with Cardinal Mazarin, at Bourg *, had already raised a ſuſpicion in the *Frondeurs*, that the Prime Miniſter was going to be reconciled with the Princes, without their participation: the Duke of Orleans, being informed of this converſation by the Princeſs de Monpenſier, his daughter, who had followed the Queen into Guyenne, was alarmed at it. The Coadjutor, who firſt adviſed the impriſonment of the Princes, was now deſirous of being chiefly inſtrumental in freeing them from it. The only object he had in view, was to create an animoſity between the Prince of Condé and the Cardinal, in order to ruin the latter, and raiſe himſelf to the head of the Adminiſtration; and he never could have met with a more favourable opportunity. Inſtantly all the Coadjutor's turbulence rouzes itſelf: he revives the cabals, excites the Cardinal's enemies, and ſets the intriguing Court ladies at work. The Princeſs Palatine treats with the *Frondeurs* about the Princes; the Ducheſs of Montbazon is promiſed a hundred thouſand crowns; the Ducheſs of Chevreuſe is flattered with the hopes of marrying her daughter to the Prince of Conti: and laſtly, the Prelate brings over the Duke of Orleans, the Parliament and the people, and prevails with them to demand, unanimouſly, the deſtruction of the Prime Miniſter, jointly with the delivery of the Princes.

An. 1651. The Princes are ſet at liberty, and the Cardinal leaves France.

Gaſton having refuſed to wait upon the King unleſs the Cardinal was baniſhed, the Queen was a long time in ſuſpence, before ſhe could prevail with herſelf to comply; but ſhe at laſt was forced to let that Miniſter depart; promiſing, however, at the ſame time, never to conſent to the enlargement of the Princes, without firſt acquainting him with

* See above, page 182.

ſt. Mazarin left Paris about the beginning of February, and went to St. Germain en Laye: The very next day the Duke of Orleans cauſed the Parliament to publiſh an arrêt, which baniſhed the Cardinal out of the Kingdom, declared him *a diſturber of the public peace*, and order'd the hue and cry after him. Whilſt the Prime Miniſter was roving about the frontiers of Normandy, a report prevailed, that the Court was reſolved to leave Paris a ſecond time, in order to go to him. That inſtant the citizens ran to arms, and kept guards at the gates, to prevent the execution of this pretended project. The Queen ſeeing herſelf impriſoned, as it were, in the *Palais Royal*, was obliged to conſent to the enlargement of the Princes, without conſulting the Cardinal. Their common friends negotiated the conditions, and Marſhal de Gramont was appointed to carry them. Mazarin equally ſurprized and ſhocked at this ſtep taken by the Queen, which he could never forgive, reſolved, nevertheleſs, the moment he heard of it, to act ſo as that he might aſcribe all the honour of it to himſelf. He ſet out immediately for Havre de Grace, arrived there the thirteenth of February, before Marſhal de Gramont, waited upon the Princes, declared to them that they had their liberty, and deſired their friendſhip; adding, with haughtineſs *, that they might either grant or refuſe it him. After dining together they parted: the Princes made for Paris, and the Prime Miniſter went firſt to Liege, and afterwards to Brule near Cologne. The next day the Princes arrived at Paris, where bonfires were made for their deliverance, as they had been made the preceding year for their impriſonment. The Duke of Orleans, with the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor went to meet them.

An. 1651.

February 13.

* Mem. de la Rochefoucault, *impriſonment of the Princes.*

An. 1651. They all mutually embraced, and made the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of a ſincere friendſhip, but the whole was merely outward.

A peace is endeavoured between the two Crowns.

When the news was brought to the Viſcount, then at la Roche in Ardennes, he went to Stenai, whence he aſſured the Archduke, by letter, that he would not lay down his arms, till France had offered Spain ſuch conditions of peace as were juſt and reaſonable. At the ſame time he requeſted the Prince of Condé, to prevail with the Court to ſend immediately a perſon of diſtinction to Stenai, there to treat about peace, without which he could not, with any decency, leave the Spaniards. The Prince diſcovered the utmoſt gratitude in his letter, and gave him the moſt ſolemn promiſes of an everlaſting friendſhip: and accordingly he uſed all his endeavours to prevail with her Majeſty to finiſh the exchange of Sedan, and to grant the Houſe of Bouillon all thoſe things which had been ſo often promiſed. The Prince afterwards engaged the Queen to depute to Stenai, Croiſſi, a Counſellor of Parliament, to negotiate the peace with Spain: Croiſſi, upon his arrival there, gave the Viſcount the following letter from the King.

COUSIN,

" YOU have heard, not only of the liberty I
" have granted my Couſins the Princes of
" Condé and Conti, and the Duke of Longueville,
" but of my reſolution to cauſe a declaration to be
" drawn up, containing an act of oblivion and ge-
" neral pardon, with regard to all who took up
" arms for them, againſt my ſervice, in which you
" are comprehended, and all your adherents: but,
" as you perhaps may ſcruple, before it be regiſtred,
" to return into France, unleſs my intention be
" ſignified to you; I write you theſe preſents by
" the

" advice of the Queen Regent, my Royal Mother, An. 1651.
" to tell you, that I forgive all you have done,
" and will forget it, provided you will ſpeedily
" leave the party in which you are engaged, and
" renounce all the treaties you have concluded
" with my enemies; and not doubting but you are
" inclined to do this, I aſſure you that you may
" freely come to my Court, in which I deſire to
" ſee you, and to teſtify to you, that I ſhall not,
" in any manner, reſent what you have enter-
" prized againſt my ſervice; ſince I am firmly per-
" ſuaded, that you will reingage in it with greater
" zeal and fidelity than ever, as is your duty.
" This letter ſhall be your ſafeguard to return,
" although the aboveſaid declaration be not yet
" regiſtered; and you may give your word to
" all who have followed you, that leaving the
" enemy, and coming over to me, they ſhall be
" delivered from all fears and proſecutions for the
" fault with which they might be charged, I having
" pardoned, and buried it in oblivion; in the aſſu-
" rance that you will have as much impatience to
" come and make proteſtations to me, in perſon,
" of your obedience, as I have good will to your
" ſelf, and the intereſt of your Houſe. I beſeech
" God, Couſin, to preſerve you.

Written at Paris, *the 6th of* March, 1651.

Signed,

LOUIS.

This letter was followed by real teſtimonies of
your from the Court: the contract of exchange
s at laſt ſigned the twentieth of March, and ra-
ed in April, after eight years ſpent in examina-
ns, enquiries, and delays. By this contract the
ng declares that, conformable to the reſolution
Louis XIII, having judged the poſſeſſion of
lan of great importance to the welfare of the
ngdom, to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of that

An. 1651. city, he had reſigned the Ducal Peerages of Albret, and of Chateau-Thierri, the Earldoms of Auvergne and of Evreux, the Barony of La Tour, and ſeveral other lands and lordſhips, with all their appurtenances, dependencies, and appendages, to the Duke of Bouillon, and to his ſucceſſors male and female for ever; to enjoy them as their real patrimony, with full property incommutable and irrevocable, by the title of pure, abſolute and perpetual exchange; and alſo that theſe lands ſhall not be ſubject to any redemption, reimburſement, repurchaſe or reunion to the demeſnes of his Majeſty, for any cauſe or occaſion ſoever. The King was pleaſed to include in the exchange, the Barony of La Tour, and the Earldom of Auvergne, which were demanded as having been antient fiefs of the Houſe of La Tour, and which had fallen to Queen Catherine of Medicis, heireſs of the eldeſt branch of that Houſe.

The Negotiations for peace with Spain broke off, and the Viſcount's return to Court.

A little after the arrival of Croiſſi at Stenai, Friquer was ſent thither in the Archduke's name. The Viſcount de Turenne was ſo urgent for the negotiation, that the French offered to abandon Catalonia, to concern themſelves no more with the affairs of the King of Portugal, and to depute the Duke of Orleans to the frontiers, with full powers to conclude a peace, provided the Spaniards would alſo ſend the Archduke with the like powers. The King of Spain, being ill adviſed, refuſed to hear theſe propoſals; and the Viſcount having ſollicited him, during two months, to no purpoſe, thought himſelf ſufficiently diſengaged from his parole, and reſolved to return to the French Court. After thanking the Spaniards for the ſuccours they had given, and their behaviour towards him, he ſet out for Paris: and hearing, upon the road, that the Princes and ſeveral Noblemen of the greateſt diſtinction intended to come and meet him, he or-

dered

dered matters ſo well, to avoid all oſtentation, that he arrived a day ſooner than he was expected; perſuaded that 'twould have been an inſult upon the Court, to have entered with ſo much ſplendor into the capital of the Kingdom, upon his return from a war in which he had born arms againſt the King. The moment the Prince of Condé heard of his arrival, he paid him a viſit, and carried him to the Louvre. He deſired the Viſcount to enter into his views, was urgent with him to form greater projects for himſelf and his family, and proteſted * that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to forward them. The Viſcount de Turenne made the moſt candid polite anſwers to all theſe advances, and gave him to underſtand that, being now fully ſatisfy'd, ſince the Princes were ſet at liberty, and Mazarin baniſhed, he wanted nothing more. And, indeed, he would not make any advantage of the new credit the Prince had gained at Court, and only deſired, that the troops which had exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour to procure his liberty, might be allowed good winter-quarters. An. 1651. May 11.

The clouds which, during a year, had obſcured the Viſcount de Turenne's glory, are diſperſed for ever: 'tis now going to reſume all its ſplendor: he henceforward will be only the defender of his Country, and the ſtrongeſt ſupport of the Throne.

The Queen was deſirous of Mazarin's return, notwithſtanding their reciprocal diſcontent. Accuſtomed to his gentle inſinuating manner, and convinced, by her own experience, of his great capacity, ſhe uſed her utmoſt endeavours to get him recalled. She entered into a ſecret treaty (unknown to the Frondeurs) with the Prince of Condé; beſtowed upon him the government of Guyenne, and gave, in exchange, that of Burgundy to Duke d'Epernon. Condé, on the other ſide, to ſatisfy the Queen, who

Motives which engage the Prince of Condé to break with the Court.

* See the Authorities Numb. VII.

An. 1651. was afraid that the marriage of the Prince of Conti with La Chevreuſe, would raiſe the credit of the *Fronde*, broke that match, with all the haughtineſs and impetuoſity which were natural to him. The Coadjutor, who now rouzed all his reſentment, dared to accuſe him to his face, of breach of promiſe. Nay he was ſo bold as to ſet himſelf, in public, on the ſame foot with a Prince of the Blood; to be attended, like the Prince, to the hall of the *Palais*, by a company of armed men, and to inſult the great Condé in parliament. The Queen, who hated them both, hoped that their feuds and diviſions would prove their mutual ruin: in the mean time ſhe was for ever endeavouring, by different methods, to reconcile them to the Cardinal, whoſe return from baniſhment was the chief object of her ſolicitude. At laſt, finding the Prince would never yield to it, ſhe declared openly in favour of the Coadjutor, who now was ſo inſolent as to adviſe the Queen to ſeize Condé a ſecond time. This advice having got wind, the Prince was alarmed at it, withdrew to St. Maur, and formed revengeful projects, which proved fatal to his country. Doubtleſs, neither the refuſal of the employments which he demanded for himſelf and his friends, nor the fear of loſing his liberty, fomented in him a ſpirit of diſcontent and rebellion: this Prince, though but thirty years of age, believed himſelf as well qualified to govern the Kingdom, by the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, as he was to defend it, by his valour: we muſt not charge the great Condé with any other ambition, than that of having aſpired to be the ſole Council of the King, and the only ſupport of the Throne. Abuſed firſt by the Cardinal, and afterwards inſulted by the Coadjutor, he gave way to his indignation, and reſolved to make himſelf, by force, maſter of the Court and of the King's perſon, in order to be the arbiter of peace and war.

During

During his ſtay at St. Maur, he was viſited by all his friends, and among the reſt by the Viſcount de Turenne. His refuſal to join in Condé's projects, was as little owing to the pretended ingratitude of that Prince, as to the other falſly imagined cauſes of perſonal complaints. But the ſad experience he had had of the horrors of civil war, and ſtill more the reflections which had convinced him, that no cauſe could authoriſe a ſubject to take up arms againſt his Sovereign, were the real motives that attached the Viſcount to the Court. The Prince returned ſoon to Paris: He continued his intelligence with the Spaniards, whom he ſtill kept in Stenai, upon pretence of diſengaging the Ducheſs of Longueville from them: he had ſent the Marquis de Silleri to Bruſſels, to renew the treaties with Fuenſaldagne, and to demand the promiſe of ſuccours, in caſe he ſhould again revive the civil diſſenſions. An. 1651.

The Duke of Bouillon and Viſcount de Turenne refuſe to join with the Prince of Condé.

The King going to parliament, to get himſelf declared of age, the Prince, inſtead of accompanying him thither, went into Normandy, where he endeavoured, but in vain, to ſeduce the Duke of Longueville. Animated by the Ducheſs his ſiſter, whoſe thoughts were very different from thoſe of her huſband, he ſet out for Guyenne, with a deſign to gain new partizans in that Province. At the ſame time the Princeſs of Condé, the Duke d'Enguien, and the Prince of Conti, to whom the Court had refuſed the Government of Provence, the Ducheſs of Longueville, and the Duke of Rochefoucault, retired to Montrond, to raiſe the people of Berry. On the other ſide, the Count de Tavannes, commander of the Prince of Condé's troops *, ſeparated from Marſhal d'Aumont, General of the King's army in Flanders, and joined, in the neighbourhood of Stenai, Don Stephen de Gamarre. The

The Prince of Condé ſets out for Bourdeaux, revives the civil war.

* The Prince of Condé had a body of troops called from his name.

An. 1651. moment the Queen heard of Condé's departure, ſhe thought there would be no other way of defeating his enterprizes, than by following him cloſe: ſo leaving the Duke of Orleans to command in Paris, the Court ſet out about the end of September. During its ſtay (three weeks) at Bourges, the Royal forces were divided into two bodies, the moſt conſiderable of which was given to the Count d'Harcourt, to march and oppoſe the Prince of Condé in Guyenne, and the other to Palluau, to block up Montrond: but before he could inveſt the town, the Princes ſet out with the utmoſt diligence for Bourdeaux, and left the Marquis de Perſan to defend it. The Court went afterwards to Poitiers, with a reſolution to ſpend the winter there. The Prince of Condé had already declared war in Guyenne: A Spaniſh fleet, which came up by the mouth of the Garonne, had brought him ſuccours, and Count Marſin alſo brought him ſome troops. This experienced Officer ſerved the King of Spain in Catalonia; attached for ever to Condé, he had been impriſoned in the citadel of Perpignan, when the Princes were ſent to Vincennes, and did not recover his liberty till after their enlargement. The inſtant he received advice of the Prince's rupture with the Court, he left the Spaniſh army, came out of the intrenchments in the night, with his regiment of horſe, and a Swiſs Regiment; paſſed through the Spaniſh camp, with their conſent, croſſed Catalonia, and came to Condé in Guyenne. The Prince of Tarentum came likewiſe and joined the rebels at Bourdeaux; but was unable to aſſiſt the party either with troops or fortreſſes.

Count d'Harcourt checks the Prince's conqueſts.

The Prince of Condé had already taken Saintes, inveſted Cognac, engaged ſome other cities to declare in his favour, and ſpread the terror of his name throughout the whole Kingdom; however

Count

Count d'Harcourt beat ſeveral of his detachments, and ſhewed that Condé could ceaſe to be invincible, when inſtead of well diſciplined veterans, he had only new levies under his command. The Prince, who was obliged to retire to Bourg; hearing, in this city, that Marſhal de Gramont was to enter Guyenne, by the way of Bearne, to block up Bourdeaux on all ſides, could only have recourſe to negotiation. Accordingly he made propoſals for a reconciliation, and aſſured the Queen, provided ſhe would accept them, never more to oppoſe the Cardinal's return. He was ſenſible that it would diſpleaſe the Duke of Orleans and the Parliament, and would ſtir up the people of Paris and the other cities of the Kingdom. He flattered himſelf that they would all take up arms, when putting himſelf at their head, he ſhould ſoon be able to preſcribe laws to thoſe who were now upon the point of commanding him. An. 1651.

The Queen liſtened to the Prince's propoſals, and Mazarin's friends ſeized this opportunity to get him recalled. Several couriers were diſpatched to Brule, where he had reſided during his baniſhment, and ſtill governed the Queen, the Court, the Miniſters, and the whole Kingdom with abſolute authority. The Cardinal, after having concerted meaſures for his return, left Cologne, and advanced as far as Sedan, with the forces he had raiſed in Germany. The Marquis d'Hocquincourt, who a little before had been created a Marſhal of France, joined Mazarin with thoſe he had drawn out of winter quarters in Picardy and Champaign. The moment the news of this reached Paris, the Duke of Orleans aſſembled the Chambers of the Parliament, and cauſed them to publiſh an arrêt, by which all the Governors of frontier towns were commanded to ſtop the Cardinal, and all perſons were impowered to ſeize him. Very ſoon after a reward of fifty

Cardinal Mazarin leaves Cologne in order to return to France, and a price is ſet upon his head.

An. 1651. thouſand crowns was offered to any one who ſhould bring him dead or alive.

An. 1652. The Cardinal returns to France, and the Duke of Orleans levies troops, and declares againſt the Court. Jan. 30.

Whilſt the Duke of Orleans was aſſembling forces, the Prime Miniſter, little diſmay'd at all that was doing againſt him, entered France with his by the plains of Champaign, croſſed the Seine at Meri and the Loire at Gien, marched on by the way of Sologne, and arrived without oppoſition the 30th of January at Poitiers, whither the King and the whole Court were gone to meet him. In the mean time the Duke of Orleans gave the command of the army he had raiſed to the Duke of Beaufort; and the Duke of Nemours having croſſed Picardy with great diligence, came and joined Beaufort in Dunois, at the head of the Prince of Condé's troops, and thoſe which the Spaniards had ſent him, purſuant to the treaty. At the ſame time the Duke of Rohan, Governor of Anjou, engaged the inhabitants of it to declare for the Prince, who now believing that the whole Kingdom was going to take up arms, would not hear of a reconciliation. The Court ſeeing the mutineers increaſe in numbers, aſſembled troops; beſides thoſe in Guyenne, the King had three armies on foot, in Flanders, in Catalonia, and in Italy; ſo that the newly levied army conſiſted only of nine or ten thouſand men.

The King's army is commanded by the Marſhals de Turenne and d'Hocquincourt.

Things were in this ſtate, when the Viſcount de Turenne, at the requeſt of the Court, came to Poitiers, from whence he followed the King to Saumur; the Queen made him the offer of ſharing the command of the army with Marſhal d'Hocquincourt; the Viſcount, guided by no other motive than his Country's welfare, did not ſcruple to accept it, tho' he was an older Officer, by ten years, than the Marſhal. As ſoon as the King's preſence had appeaſed the troubles of Anjou, the Cardinal thought proper to bring him back to Paris, to curb that great city, which generally gives motion to the reſt

eſt of the Kingdom. 'Twas reſolv'd they ſhould march from Saumur to Gien, up the river Loire, o ſecure the cities on the banks of that river. Tours, Amboiſe, Blois, and all the other towns, gave the King teſtimonies of their obedience: Orleans was the only city that ſhut her gates againſt him, at the ſollicitations of the Princeſs of Montpenſier, whom the Duke of Orleans her father had ent thither, purpoſely to raiſe an inſurrection. An. 1652.

The enemy's forces, conſiſting of about fourteen or fifteen thouſand men, commanded by the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours, were encamped in the neighbourhood of Montargis, and extended to the bank on the right of the Loire. As the King, in paſſing by Sulli, drew near their quarters, the Viſcount thought it would be proper to go and reconnoitre the condition of Gergeau bridge, by which they might croſs the river, and come and ſurprize the Court in its march. Scarce was he arrived at Gergeau, with very few attendants, when the Baron de Sirot *, Lieutenant General of the Duke of Beaufort's army, with four battalions, and ſome horſe, came to the other ſide of the Loire, ſeized on the ſuburb, and the extremity of the bridge, and from thence got into the middle, where he made a lodgment, and planted ſome canon. Turenne, finding but two hundred men in the place, unprovided of all warlike ſtores, immediately ſent orders for ſome regiments, at two leagues diſtance, to come up with all poſſible diligence. Whilſt they were coming, he open'd the gate of the city, and went upon the bridge itſelf with about thirty perſons: and to remove all ſuſpicions from the enemy of his being in want of powder, he forbad, with a loud voice, the ſoldiers who were poſted in the houſes ſtanding on the edge of the bridge on his ſide, to fire; and whilſt Marſhal d'Hocquincourt, who Action at Gergeau bridge.

* Claud de l'Etouf Baron of Sirot.

by

An. 1652. by this time was come up with ſome Officers, raiſed a barricade, he advanced to cover the work, towards the enemy's lodgment, and ſuſtained their whole fire. The inſtant the barricade was finiſh'd, he retired behind, and defended it three hours, till the ſuccours were arrived: he then came out of his intrenchment; marched at the head of the troops ſword in hand; poſſeſſed himſelf of the lodgment; drove the rebels (now quite diſconcerted by the fall of Baron de Sirot) to the other ſide of the river, and afterwards broke down the bridge. At his return, the Queen ſaid to him in preſence of the whole Court, *that he had ſaved the Kingdom.* How important ſoever this action might be, the Viſcount mentions it in a remarkably tranſient manner, in a letter written from Sulli to his ſiſter Charlotte de la Tour d'Auvergne. After adviſing her to ſtay in Paris, in caſe ſhe could be ſafe there, or to conceal herſelf in ſome friend's houſe, he adds in a poſtſcript, *Something has happened at Gergeau, but 'tis of no great conſequence.*

The Prince of Condé leaves Guyenne, and arrives in the camp of the rebels.

In the mean time the Prince of Condé, hard preſſed in Guyenne by Count d'Harcourt, imagined he ſhould have better ſucceſs were he to head an army compos'd of veteran troops which had already ſerved under him. He ſent for the Prince of Conti to Agen, placed him at the head of affairs, exhorting him, at the ſame time, to follow the advice of Count de Marſin, and Counſellor Lenet, with whom he had ſettled all matters relating to the army, and the factious in Bourdeaux. Afterwards, feigning as tho' he would go and ſpend two or three days in that city, he ſet out from Agen about the end of March, followed by the Duke de Rochefoucault, the Prince of Marſillac, by Chavagnac, Guitaut, Gourville, and ſome domeſticks. He rode ſixſcore leagues in a very ſhort time, travelled day and night almoſt without changing horſes,

24 March.

nd without ſtaying two hours in the ſame place. He An. 1652.
vas ſeveral times in danger upon the road, of being
iſcovered, taken or kill'd; paſs'd within a ſmall
iſtance of the Royal Army, and arrived at laſt at
he camp of the rebels, within two leagues of Lor-
s near Montargis. His preſence was neceſſary;
he Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours diſagreeing
ery much, were thinking to ſeparate, but they
ept united under the Prince, and the troops reſum-
d freſh courage. Condé, the very day after his ar-
val, marched towards Montargis, which city
vas ſo intimidated that it ſurrendered at the firſt
mmons, and a great quantity of forrage and
orn was found there.

The Prince of Condé drives Marſhal d'Hocquincourt from his quarters.

* During this interval, the Marſhals de Turenne and d'Hocquincourt croſs'd the Loire over Gien bridge; nd the Court ſtaid, about the beginning of April, me time in that city. The army was divided to two parts: Turenne marched and poſted him- lf at Briare and d'Hocquincourt at Bleneau. They ept only the infantry with them, and diſperſed the avalry in all places where there was good for- ge. Next day, the Viſcount going to dine at Ble- au with the Marſhal, and ſeeing the diſpoſition his quarters, could not forbear ſaying to him, That he thought them very much expoſed, and therefore advis'd him to contract them.

† The Marſhal did not ſeem much to regard is advice, and the Viſcount being returned to s poſt, heard the night following, that the rebels d forced d'Hocquincourt's advance-guard, and d penetrated even to the remoteſt quarters his camp. Immediately he aſſembled his in- ntry, and flew to ſuccour the Marſhal; after ha- ng commanded his horſe to come up and join

* The MS. Mem. of the Duke of York, from which we have borrowed eral particulars, begin here, and extend to the peace of the Pyrenees.
† Mem. MSS. of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

them

An. 1652. them between Ozuer and Blêneau, where he thought it would be proper to poſt himſelf to cover Gien. He marched without a guide in a very dark night; ſaw two or three of Marſhal d'Hocquincourt's quarters in

7th April. flames, crying out at that ſight, *The Prince of Condé is come* *; continued his way, but afraid, every ſtep he took, of meeting with the enemy's forces, and arrived by day-break in a ſpacious plain, where his cavalry came up with him. Condé had juſt before drove the Marſhal from five quarters, one after another, had plundered all his baggage, forc'd the infantry to ſhut themſelves up in Bleneau, and drove the cavalry three or four leagues towards Burgundy. The news of this defeat threw the Court into ſo great a conſternation, that 'twas immediately reſolved to carry the King to Bourges, and to break down Gien bridge, as ſoon as he ſhould have croſs'd the Loire.

The Viſcount's perplexity.

The Viſcount imagining that the Prince of Condé would advance ſoon to attack him, ſought for ſome advantageous poſt, to ſtop him but one day only, and to give Marſhal d'Hocquincourt time to get together his ſcattered troops. All the General Officers repreſented to him, the danger he would run in waiting the coming up of a victorious army with ſuch unequal forces; and therefore adviſed him to return towards Gien, in order to guard the King's perſon. The Viſcount, deep in thought, and without ſpeaking a word to any perſon, continued to give out his orders for the execution of his deſign. " † Never, he has ſince ſaid, did " ſuch a multitude of dreadful things croud into " the imagination of one man, as filled mine at " that time. I had not been long in good terms with " the Court; and had but lately received con-

* We owe this particular to the late Duke of Rochefoucault, then Prince of Marſillac.

† MSS. The Mem. of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

" mand-

mand of the army which was to defend it. An. 1652.
That man who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf ever ſo little, is ſure of being envied, and of raiſing enemies. Some I had, who declared in all places, that I ſtill carried on a ſecret correſpondence with the Prince. The Cardinal did not believe it; but he perhaps, the very firſt misfortune which ſhould have befallen me, would have entertained the ſame ſuſpicion. Beſides, I knew Marſhal d'Hocquincourt, who would certainly have ſaid, that I had expoſed him, and not brought him the leaſt ſuccour. Theſe were very troubleſome thoughts; and the worſt of all was, the Prince was advancing towards me, victorious, and with a ſuperior force." † But theſe inward ſtruggles did not make him lay aſide his project. The evening before, as he was returning from the Marſhal's quarters, he had obſerved an advantageous ſpot of ground *: he therefore made his troops double their ſpeed, and got to the poſt he wiſhed, firmly reſolving to wait there the coming up of the enemy. The ſoldiers, nevertheleſs, were as unruly as ever; they again began to murmur, and the officers imagin'd there was no means of ſafety left, but by retiring inſtantly to Gien. The Viſcount was informed of theſe ſeveral particulars by la Berge, lieutenant of his guards; and now giving more attention to what was ſaid to him, he anſwered, "That as the danger was ſo imminent, the propoſal they made to him would be of little ſervice; that as the city of Orleans had ſhut her gates againſt the King, at a time when his army had not yet been defeated, they might juſtly be afraid that no city would receive him, when vanquiſh'd and a fugitive; and that the King's

† St. Evremont's Elogium of M. de Turenne.
* MSS. Mem of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

An. 1652. "arms would loſe all their reputation, ſhould "he fly before the rebels: he added with a reſolute voice, "*We muſt conquer or die here* †." He then made preparations to oppoſe the Prince of Condé in the midſt of a large plain, where a wood was on his right, a fen * on his left, and between both a cauſey, by which the enemy could not come up with him, but by marching in file. The Prince had fourteen thouſand men, and the Viſcount not above four thouſand at moſt. Nevertheleſs, full of confidence, when he conſidered the advantageous ſituation of his poſt, and the motions he was projecting, he ſent word by the Marquis de Pertui †, Captain of his guards, to Cardinal Mazarin, that the King might ſafely continue at Gien.

The Viſcount checks the progreſs of the Prince of Condé near Gien.

Condé, after having defeated Marſhal d'Hocquincourt, advanced with the utmoſt ſpeed towards Gien, firmly perſuaded, that the Viſcount having ſo few forces left, would not be able to hinder him from carrying off the whole Court and the King. The moment Turenne ſaw him from the head of the cauſey, where he had poſted himſelf with his ſix ſquadrons, he immediately repaſſed it, made the foot he had with him retire from the wood, being unwilling to weaken his forces by fighting upon unequal terms, and kept all his troops at ſuch a diſtance from the wood, that they were not within muſquet-ſhot of it, yet without leaving the enemy ground enough to draw up in order of battle. Condé, who marched his infantry into the wood, ſeeing this diſpoſition of the Viſcount's troops, halted; and as he continued unactive ſome time, the Viſcount reſolved to make ſuch a motion, as might induce the Prince

† MSS. Mem. of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

* This is ſuppoſed to be la Bouziniere.

† The Marquis de Pertui was deſcended from a family of antient Nobility in Normandy, ſprung originally from the moſt illuſtrious Houſe of Hay in Scotland. He died Lieutenant General of the King's armies, and Governour of Courtrai.

to believe he intended to fly: beſides, the Viſcount, by changing ſituation, deſigned to reconnoitre, whether the enemy did not march under covert, in order to go and draw up in ſome other part of the plain, charge him in flank, or ſurround him, as they ſhould have done at firſt. Condé, miſtaking this motion for a flight, marched in battalia to the cauſey, and ſent fifteen or twenty ſquadrons over it. Turenne, who, to confirm him in his error, had marched faſt, now wheel'd about, returned with greater diligence to his firſt poſt, and forced the ſquadrons, which he put into diſorder, to repaſs it with precipitation. That inſtant, the battery which the Viſcount had levelled directly at the cauſey, *did dreadful execution* *; and the Prince did not dare to make any farther attempt the remaining part of the day, which they ſpent in canonading one another. In the evening, Marſhal d'Hocquincourt with his horſe, and the Duke of Bouillon, with ſeveral other Noblemen who were in Gien, came to the Viſcount; and now the two armies were upon equal terms, and continued in ſight of one another till night. An. 1652.

The joy the Court were in, and their gratitude towards the Viſcount.

The Cardinal, extreamly anxious for the ſucceſs of this day, which was to determine his fate, and even that of the King and Queen, was ſending Couriers perpetually to know how matters went; whilſt the Queen, undiſturbed at her toilet, or at dinner, did not diſcover the leaſt ſymptoms of fear †. The ſervants had nevertheleſs begun to take down the furniture of her apartment, her equipage was got over the bridge, and the pioneers were ready to break it down, in order that the Loire might be between the King and the enemy; when advice was brought, that the Prince of Condé had been

* An expreſſion us'd by the Duke of York in his Memoirs, whence part of theſe particulars are extracted.

† Mem. of Monglat. Vol. II. p. 261.

An. 1652. ſtopp'd in his march, and obliged to retire; and the Viſcount de Turenne was returning victorious. The whole Court gave him the higheſt encomiums, and the Queen declared in publick, *That he had ſet the Crown a ſecond time upon her Son's head.* In the night, the King's army marched towards Briare, and that of the Prince reached Montargis. Cardinal Mazarin order'd a relation to be drawn up of this fortunate action †: The relation began with the advice which the Viſcount de Turenne gave the night before to Marſhal d'Hocquincourt, to contract his quarters: but the Viſcount entreated the Cardinal very earneſtly to blot out that article which caſt too great a reproach on the Marſhal, who, not being ſo tender of Turenne's reputation, gave out, that he did not come ſoon enough to his aſſiſtance. To this the Viſcount made no other anſwer but, *That a man who was under ſo much affliction as Marſhal d'Hocquincourt, ought at leaſt to have the liberty of complaining*, and Turenne diſcovered ſo much moderation in apologizing for the Marſhal, that he even gain'd his friendſhip.

The King's army returns to Châtres.

The little ſucceſs the Prince of Condé had met with in this laſt enterprize, made his friends very urgent with him to go in perſon, and oppoſe the cabals of the Coadjutor, now Cardinal de Retz. The Queen, who deteſted the Coadjutor, had yet nominated him for a Cardinal's hat, from a perſuaſion, that he would be of great ſervice to her, upon the Prince's taking up arms a ſecond time; and Mazarin returning a little after, had got this nomination revoked; but Innocent X. was no ſooner raiſed to the Pontificate, than he ſent the hat to the Coadjutor, out of hatred to the Prime Miniſter. The intrigues of the new Cardinal, who employed all his endeavours to diſengage the Duke of Orleans from the Prince of Condé's intereſt, as well as the impreſſion which the

* MSS. Mem. of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

Viſcount's

count's laſt exploit had made on the minds of the inhabitants of Paris, determined Condé to leave his army, the command of which he gave to Count de Tavannes *, and to return to Paris, whither he brought back the Duke of Beaufort, and the Duke of Nemours, who was wounded. A week after, the King left Gien, and the Count immediately ſet out upon his march, in order to ſurprize the Court: but Turenne and d'Hocquincourt, leaving Montargis and the Prince of Condé's army very far to the left, kept along the banks of the river Yonne, and conducted the King by Auxerre and Sens; then ſtealing a march upon the Count de Tavannes, they croſs'd the river Loin at Moret, travers'd the foreſt of Fontainebleau, arrived at Ferté-Alais an hour before the enemy, by which they ſecured Melun and Corbeil, and, after having cover'd the King's march forty leagues, came and encamped at Châtres, between the Prince's army and Paris, and thereby cut off its communication with Count de Tavannes, who retired to Etampes, where all the harveſt of Beauſſe was ſtor'd. Turenne adviſed the King to go directly from Corbeil to Paris, in which Gaſton and the Prince were without forces; but Mazarin was ſo abhorred by the inhabitants of this City, that he would not truſt himſelf in it; and therefore the Court preferr'd St. Germain en Laye. An. 1652.

Condé ſent thither privately to the Miniſter, to treat about a reconciliation with him. This negotiation prov'd ineffectual for ſeveral reaſons: Condé and Mazarin, tho' very oppoſite in character, had this fault in common, *viz.* never, when they treated, to have any fixed and limited pretenſions; but the more they granted one another, the more they thought themſelves impower'd to demand. On the other ſide, Cardinal de Retz, for ever hurried along by his turbulent ſpirit, ſet every engine at work to The Negotiations for peace broke.

* James de Saulx, and Count de Tavannes.

An. 1652. hinder an accommodation: his fear was, that if peace were made without his participation, he ſhould remain expoſed to his enemies, or at leaſt become uſeleſs: war, on the contrary, though of never ſo little continuance, gave him hopes of the Prince's ruin, or the removal of the Prime Miniſter; and which ſoever of theſe ſhould happen, he reckoned upon having the ſole government of the Duke of Orleans, and becoming the head of the adminiſtration, the only invariable object of his ambition. At the ſame time the Spaniards endeavoured to ſpirit up the Prince by the offer of ſuccours. The moſt refined ſtrokes of policy were employed by both parties, to engage him, one to continue the war, the other to conclude a peace; but during his ſuſpence, the Viſcount de Turenne was ſeeking an opportunity to ſurprize the rebels.

The Viſcount marches to Etampes, to ſurprize the Prince's army.

The Princeſs de Montpenſier having left Orleans to return to Paris, ſent for a paſſport from Etampes. The Viſcount kept the meſſenger a whole day, perſuaded that as the enemy would paſs in review before her, now ſhe was leaving them, they for that reaſon would not go a forraging for ſome days; that this delay would oblige them to go in greater numbers afterwards; and that the forragers, in the abſence of their Officers, who would certainly accompany the Princeſs, would obſerve little or no diſcipline. Upon this reflection, he propos'd to poſt himſelf between Orleans and Etampes, to intercept the forragers. Marſhal d'Hocquincourt approved the project; and accordingly the two Generals, in the night between the fourth and fifth of May, marched the army in deep ſilence, through by-ways, and arrived by day-break at the place where they intended to poſt themſelves. The ſcouts bringing word, that the enemy's army, inſtead of forraging, was drawn up in order of battle, in a plain near Etampes, becauſe the Princeſs did not ſet out till that very morning,

was reſolved to go and fight them: but the moment the enemy perceived the King's army, whoſe march had till now been a ſecret to them, they entred the town with ſo much diligence, that before the Marſhals de Turenne and d'Hocquincourt had got to the hill above Etampes, the rebels had already ſecured themſelves, and the Princeſs was gone. An. 1652.

This haſty retreat made the Viſcount take a new reſolution. Having obſerved, from the hill where he ſtood, a large body of troops, in pretty great diſorder, in the ſuburb towards Orleans, he fancied it would be poſſible for him to force this poſt. Nine regiments of foot, with five hundred horſe, had entrenched themſelves in it, behind the rivulet which covers all one ſide, a little ſpace excepted towards the town gate, where the enemy had made a ſtrong dike. The Royal infantry marched to the ſuburb, without ſtaying till the canon had fired againſt the intrenchments: that part of it commanded by Marſhal d'Hocquincourt which was to the right, after ſuſtaining all the enemy's fire, croſſed the rivulet near a mill, whilſt Gadagne forc'd the dike to the left, near the gate. Barricades were rais'd in the latter place, to cut off all communication between the town and the ſuburb, into which the Viſcount afterwards marched the infantry. D'Hocquincourt came up after, and ſuſtained them, at the head of the cavalry; but they followed him with ſo great a precipitation, and in ſuch numbers, that Turenne reſerving only ſome ſquadrons, thought proper to detach the greateſt part of them, to go and reinforce the body of horſe appointed to repulſe the enemy, in caſe they ſhould march out through another gate of the town. The attack and the defence were equally vigorous. Both ſides diſputed every houſe, every incloſure, and the walls of the ſeveral gardens. The regiment of Turenne ſuſtained with ſo much bravery the other troops, that having been repulſed to ſome diſ-

The Viſcount attacks and forms the ſuburb of Etampes.

An. 1652. tance by the rebels, they returned with freſh ardour, and drove them to the laſt wall, whence they were forced to retire into a church, and there cry for quarter. Whilſt this was doing, the enemy, to ſuccour their men, ſallied out of the town thro' the gate towards the dike; attacked the barricade, and would have ſtormed it, in ſpite of Gadagne's reſolution, had not the Viſcount, who advanced with ſome ſquadrons, within piſtol-ſhot, repulſed them *. They tried two more ſallies with as little ſucceſs, and after fighting obſtinately for three hours, the ſuburb was carried. The enemy's horſe ſav'd themſelves by croſſing the river; and of the nine regiments of foot, nine hundred men were kill'd, and ſeventeen hundred taken priſoners. The Marquiſes de Navailles and de Gadagne, the Count de Broglio, and Baron de Vaubecourt, ſignalized themſelves greatly on this occaſion.

Had the rebels after the action, but taken a proper advantage of an error which one part of the King's forces committed, they might have defeated them in their retreat. Marſhal d'Hocquincourt marched with the vanguard of the army directly to Etrechi, without obſerving the ſituation of the Viſcount, who could not follow him with the rear-guard, till he had rallied his ſoldiers that were diſperſed and buſied in plundering the ſuburb. The enemy, had they ſallied out by the gate call'd Paris gate, oppoſite to that of Orleans, might have got between the two parts of the army, and defeated both: but they contented themſelves with attacking the rear-guard, as it retired; and charg'd it ſo vigorouſly, that the Viſcount was obliged to turn back, with a body of horſe, to diſengage it. When he was informed that the van-guard was gone, "*Too too late*, replied he, ſhrugging up his ſhoulders

* We have borrowed all theſe particulars from the Duke of York's Memoirs, who was preſent at the action.

to remedy what is done †; and preſerving his uſual tranquillity, notwithſtanding the danger which the incumbrance of the priſoners encreas'd, he made with the utmoſt diligence towards Etrechi, where he came up with the Marſhal, and whence the whole army marched the next day to Châtres. An. 1652.

The misfortunes which had befallen the Royal Family of Stuart occaſioned by the Civil Wars of England, obliged the Queen of Great Britain, Henrietta, daughter to Henry the IV of France, to ſeek an aſylum in this Kingdom, in order to implore the protection of that Crown. King Charles II. and the Duke of York, her ſons, after the murther of the King their father, having been unſucceſsful in all their enterprizes againſt Cromwel, followed the Queen their mother to Paris. As the Duke of York, then but eighteen, breath'd nothing but war, the high idea he entertain'd of the Viſcount de Turenne, engaged him to leave Paris ſecretly, to ſerve as a volunteer in the King's army, and learn the ſcience of war under ſo great a General. He was preſent at the action of the ſuburb of Etampes, and diſplayed that valour which was always admir'd in the Duke of York. The Viſcount gave him a reception ſuitable to his birth; and endeavoured, by all poſſible proofs of affection, to ſoften the remembrance of his misfortunes. The Duke of York arrives in the Viſcount's camp.

Three days after the battle of Etampes, Marſhal d'Hocquincourt was ſent to his government of Peronne, upon pretence of the Spaniards approaching it, and the King's army remain'd under the ſole command of the Viſcount. Turenne knowing that all the forces of the Prince of Condé, and of his adherents, on this ſide of the Loire, were reduced to the troops ſhut up in Etampes, where they began to be in want of forrage, form'd a deſign to go and block up that city, in order to The Viſcount reſolves to beſiege Etampes.

† The Duke of York's Memoirs.

An. 1652. ſtarve them, in caſe they continued in it, or fight them if they came out. Count de Tavannes commanded the Prince's troops, Valon thoſe of the Duke of Orleans, and Clinchamp the Spaniards. All three were very brave; but no one of them had experience ſufficient to conduct an army: They were embarked in the ſame cauſe, but their views were different, and their perpetual jealouſy occaſioned frequent diſputes. 'Twas impoſſible for a man of the Viſcount's abilities, not to take advantage of this miſunderſtanding; nevertheleſs, as their army conſiſted of four thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and that of the Viſcount was at moſt but ten thouſand men, this blockade was conſidered as a raſh enterprize. But the Prince of Condé, who knew better than any body Turenne's capacity, forming a different judgment, was afraid leſt his army ſhould be forced to ſurrender at diſcretion; and preſſed the Archduke Leopold, at that time Governor of the Low Countries, to ſend him immediate ſuccours.

May 22. The Viſcount beſieges Etampes.

The King left St. Germains, and during his journey to Melun, the Viſcount de Turenne marched within a league of Etampes. This town ſtands in a bottom: Its walls flanked with but ſmall towers, are not ſtrong enough to ſuſtain an attack: On that ſide lying towards Orleans, they are watered by a ſmall river, and ſurrounded with a dry ditch towards Châtres: very near this place the rebels were poſſeſſed of a hill, on which a round tower is built, whence there is a proſpect of the whole plain. The Viſcount made himſelf maſter of the other eminencies, diſperſed troops to the right and left, lodged part of them in the ruins of the ſuburbs, which the enemy had burnt at his approach, and encamped the reſt of his army pretty near Etampes, on a ſpot whence the canon could do but little execution in the town, as it ſtood in a bottom.

bottom. Notwithſtanding the frequent ſallies of the beſieged, the lines of contravallation were ſoon compleated, which, as the ſoil was very ſtony, could not be very deep: lines of circumvallation ſeemed uſeleſs in the field, as there was no enemy. A bridge was made on the river, to keep the beſieged from forraging, and ſeveral others were preparing, when advice came of the Duke of Lorrain's arrival in France. This Prince, who had been diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions, headed ten thouſand men who followed him every where. Regardleſs of his engagements, he had promiſed, by a ſecret treaty, to employ them this year in the King of Spain's ſervice; and at the ſame time had given ſuch promiſes to Cardinal Mazarin, that, upon orders ſent by the Court, Marſhal de la Ferté, Governor of Lorrain, permitted him to levy troops, and proviſions were furniſhed him in his march: and yet, when he was come pretty near Paris, he did not ſcruple to declare in favour of the Princes. This unexpected turn obliged Turenne to change his plan; accordingly he reſolved to attack, with the utmoſt vigour, Etampes, in order to ſtorm that town, before the Duke of Lorrain ſhould come and ſuccour it. As horſes were wanted for the artillery, the Court was obliged to employ all that could be found, and even thoſe which drew the coaches of the King and Queen. By the help of theſe the Viſcount erected batteries againſt the half-moon, ſtanding near the gate of Orleans; and the moment its defences were ruined, the Marquis de Gadagne, who was commanded to go and attack it, marched thither in the night, at the head of a thouſand men, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it: but at day-break he was drove thence by the beſieged, who attacked him on every ſide; and after receiving twenty ſhot in his buffcoat, eſcaped almoſt miraculouſly out of the midſt of the enemy's ſquadrons. The Viſcount re- An. 1652.

An. 1652. ceiving advice of this, returned immediately from his quarters, whither he was gone, and commanded all the infantry there to march: his own regiment coming up firſt, advanced alone towards the half-moon, and, unſuccoured even by the artillery of the lines, ſuſtained the whole fire of the curtin, without diſcharging once, entred the foſs, which had been filled up in the night, got upon the work that was crowded with the enemy's forces, drove them from thence, and planted their colours on it, which had been carried by Captains during the whole engagement. This action of almoſt unparallel'd vigour, made the Viſcount's forces hope to continue unmoleſted all the reſt of that day; but the beſieged ſallied out about three in the afternoon with twenty ſquadrons and four battalions to recover the half-moon, and at the ſame time to attack the lines in a quarter where they were leaſt expected. Turenne, who happened very fortunately to be there, ſent orders to all the forces to repair to their ſeveral poſts, and commanded the foot, which were in the camp, to come and join him. At the ſame time he ordered one of the three ſquadrons upon guard out of the lines, ſent it under Count de Rennel to charge, and himſelf advanced with the two others towards the avenue leading to the intrenchments, where he ſuppoſed the greateſt efforts would be made. The firſt ſquadron having been repulſed, the rebels would have entered the lines, if two hundred muſketeers of the regiment of guards had not come up. Theſe were all that could be got together in the camp, the action in the morning having drawn the greateſt part of the infantry to the ſuburb of Orleans. Theſe muſketeers, who were deſired by the Viſcount not to fire all at once, and to take a good aim, did great execution: at their firſt diſcharge, which killed great numbers in the three firſt ſquadrons, they forced the enemy's

enemy's horſe to retire; and at their ſecond, they obliged the foot, who were advancing, to ſhelter themſelves behind a *rideau* or eminence, whence neither ſuperiority of numbers, intreaties, menaces, nor blows could induce them to ſtir; they only poured in a great fire on the lines, and retired as ſoon as the reſt of the King's troops came up. The rebels were as unſucceſsful in the attack of the work, for thoſe who guarded them had time to prepare for their reception. Tracy, who commanded the Viſcount's German cavalry, marching between the lines and the town, met the enemy advancing to attack the work, when he charged them vigorouſly, though at the head of but four ſquadrons, obliged them to halt, and gave another body, commanded by the Marquis de Richelieu, time to advance and ſuſtain him. Upon this reinforcement the enemy were charged a ſecond time, and drove back in great diſorder, after loſing a vaſt number of ſoldiers, and upwards of ſixty Officers. The beſieged did not make any other conſiderable ſally; and Turenne's forces charged them vigorouſly the following days, on that ſide towards the gate of Orleans, and the half-moon which had been recovered: but whilſt they were about to undermine the walls, advice was brought the Viſcount, that the Duke of Lorrain, after declaring in favour of the Princes, was advancing, and that a bridge of boats, was preparing for him above Charenton. An. 1652.

The Viſcount makes a retreat to Etampes.

Upon this news, Marſhal de Turenne judged it would be proper to raiſe the ſiege, not to run the hazard of being ſhut up between two armies of the enemy, when undefended by lines of circumvallation. Accordingly the canon was removed from off the batteries; the troops came out of the half-moon, and after ſetting fire to the barracks, the army marched away. Whilſt the firſt line halted, the ſecond advanced about five hundred

An. 1652. dred paces, and then faced about; afterwards the first line passed through the intervals of the second line, and continued its march to the same distance, halted and faced like the second, which began the same movement as before. These motions were repeated for the space of half a league; and the enemy, who skirmished at first with the first line in its retreat, made no considerable attempt afterwards.

The Viscount marches to attack the Duke of Lorrain in his camp at Villeneuve St. Georges.

The fourteenth of June, Turenne crossed the Seine at Corbeil, marched through the forest of Senard, and made such great expedition, that the Duke of Lorrain was very much surprized when he heard of his approach. The Duke was encamped on the hill of Villeneuve St. George, and was making a bridge over the Seine, in order to join his army to that of the Prince of Condé. The Viscount, after reconnoitring his disposition, went in the evening and crossed the little river of Yeres, near Brunoi, marched the whole night about Gros-bois, and came near the enemy by day-break, with the resolution of attacking them immediately. The Duke of Lorrain, who depended entirely for subsistence on the letting out of his troops to hire, would not suffer them to hazard a battle, tho' his forces were superior to those of the King. As he expected every moment the arrival of the army from Etampes, he flattered himself with the hope of amusing the Viscount by negotiations. He had already pav'd the way to this, and drawn the King of England from Paris into his camp, to have the benefit of his mediation, and even engage him to pass his word for him at the French Court, which the Duke had so often deceived, that they were not disposed to trust him any more. But at his intreaty, King Charles sent a message from the Lorrain camp to the Duke of York his brother, by which he desired earnestly to have an interview with him, in order to negotiate a peace between the two armies. The Viscount consented to this, and

he Engliſh Prince carried the conditions which this General required from the Duke of Lorrain. Nevertheleſs, the Viſcount ſtill advanced to prevent his being ſurprized by the artifices of the Duke, who had poſted himſelf to as much advantage as the place he was in would allow. A wood lay at his right, the river Yeres at his left, and in the front of his army were ſix redoubts, all which he had raiſed in one night: here he had lodged his infantry, and five hundred muſketeers were poſted in the wood. His army amounted to five thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot; beſides a thouſand or twelve hundred of the Prince of Conde's forces, brought by the Duke of Beaufort. The King's army, weakned by the loſs ſuſtained before Etampes, was ſcarce upwards of ſeven thouſand men. An. 1652.

The King of England was extremely perplex'd how to act, in caſe the two armies ſhould come to battle. 'Twould be a diſhonour to him, ſhould he leave the camp the night before an engagement, without ſharing in it: He had particular obligations to the Duke of Lorrain, who loved him; ſome likeneſs of characters alſo had formed a friendſhip between them; but at the ſame time he was under the protection of his Majeſty. In caſe he fought for the Duke of Lorrain, he would countenance the rebellion; and if he went over to the army of France, he would ſeem to betray his friend. The Duke of York found the King his brother in this dilemma, when he brought the propoſals, by which the Viſcount demanded, that the Lorrainers ſhould immediately diſcontinue working at the bridge over the Seine; that the Duke of Lorrain ſhould promiſe to leave the Kingdom in a fortnight, and at the ſame time give his parole, never more to ſuccour the rebels. Whilſt the two Princes were in conference, the Duke of Lorrain came into the room, and the Duke of York preſented him the plan of the treaty. He received it with

A treaty is ſigned between the Duke of Lorrain and the Viſcount.

An. 1652. with an air of raillery, that was natural to him, which however ſeemed a little forced on this occaſion. He conſented at once to the firſt article, and immediately diſpatched an Officer, with orders to diſcontinue working at the bridge; but he rejected the two laſt, and proteſted that nothing ſhould force him to conſent to them: The Duke of York replying that the Viſcount would not recede from theſe articles, the conference ended. The Duke of Lorrain imagining that the young Prince was for a battle rather than a reconciliation, deſired the King of England to ſend the Lord Germain with him, to obtain, if poſſible, leſs ſevere conditions from the Viſcount. Turenne had continued advancing, and the Duke of York and the Lord Germain met him within a league of the Lorrain camp. The Engliſh Prince acquainted him with the Duke of Lorrain's anſwer, and the Lord Germain, after employing, but to no purpoſe, all his eloquence, to make an impreſſion on him, returned. The army ſtill continuing its march, was now got within canon ſhot of the enemy, when the King of England came in perſon to the Viſcount; but all he could obtain from him was, to ſend a perſon once more to the Duke of Lorrain. The Marquis de Gadagne was appointed to carry him the conditions in writing, and to inform him, that he muſt either that moment ſign or fight. He ſet out, and found the Duke of Lorrain near his batteries. This Prince having read the articles preſcribed by Turenne, commanded his gunners, in Gadagne's preſence, to fire: but one would have imagined, that they had before been ordered not to obey, and that 'twas merely a feint to gain time. At laſt, the Duke of Lorrain perceiving Gadagne inflexible, ſigned the articles; and Gadagne brought them back to the Viſcount, who demanded two hoſtages for performance.

Scarce

Scarce was the treaty ſigned, when the army of the Princes appeared on the other ſide of the Seine. The Lorrainers left their intrenchments, and filed off before the King's army, which continued in order of battle. Part of Condé's troops, which the Duke of Beaufort had brought, engaged in the King's ſervice, and the reſt were permitted to return to Paris. Upon Beaufort's arrival in that city, he inſinuated to the Pariſians, as though the treaty had been concluded by the ſole mediation of the King of England, which exaſperated them to ſuch a degree, that no Engliſhman dared to appear in the ſtreets, during ſeveral days, for fear of being inſulted by the populace. An. 1652.

The armies of the Duke and of the Viſcount ſeparate.

The army of Etampes, after the Duke of Lorrain's departure, was retired to Villejuy: the Prince of Condé who went and aſſumed the command of it, marched it to St. Cloud, and there encamped along the banks of the river as far as Surenne; and having ſecured the bridge, thought himſelf in no manner of danger, though he had, at moſt, but ſix thouſand men. In the mean time, the Viſcount de Turenne ſtill perſiſted in the reſolution he had taken, to diſperſe thoſe remaining troops, which were the only ſupport of the rebellion: but perceiving, that which rout ſoever he might take to march againſt the enemy, 'twould be always in their power, by the interpoſition of the Seine, to avoid coming to a battle; and judging that he could not poſſibly ſurmount this obſtacle, but by ſuperior force, which would give him an opportunity of attacking them at the ſame time on both ſides of the river, he repreſented to the Cardinal, how very neceſſary it was to haſten the march of thoſe troops, which Marſhal de la Ferté was bringing from Lorrain. In expectation of this reinforcement, Turenne continued ſome days at Villeneuve St. Georges. He left it about the end of June, marched very ſlow, croſſed the Marne at Lagni,

The Prince of Condé heads again the army of rebels.

An. 1652. Lagni, and encamped near Dammartin, to cut off the paſſage of a body of Spaniſh forces, which were to come from Flanders along the banks of the river Oyſe. Some days after, the Royal army, by the reinforcement Marſhal de la Ferté brought, being increaſed to ten or eleven thouſand men, went and encamped near St. Denis, whither the Court was come from Melun; and the Viſcount gave orders immediately for bringing from Pontoiſe boats to make a bridge oppoſite to Epinai, where the iſland of St. Denis, by dividing the Seine, facilitated the carrying on of that work. The attempts the Prince made to hinder it were fruitleſs; for the canon planted in the iſland, of which the Royaliſts immediately poſſeſſed themſelves, drove the enemy from the oppoſite ſhore; and there remained not above an hundred muſketeers, under cover of a *rideau*, whence they fired upon the workmen. La Fitte, a Major of La Ferté's regiment, a reſolute experienced Officer, ſwam over with fifty troopers, cut off the retreat of the hundred foot ſoldiers, killed ſeveral of them, and brought away the reſt priſoners in a boat, without loſing a man.

The Prince of Condé de camps, and marches to Charenton.

Condé ſeeing the bridge was finiſhed, loſt all hopes of being able to hinder the paſſage of the Royaliſts; and fearing he ſhould ſoon be attacked by their whole army, reſolved to march his own to that neck of land where the Seine and the Marne unite below Charenton, that being the moſt advantageous poſt he could pitch upon, in the neighbourhood of Paris. He broke up his camp in the beginning of the night, went over St. Cloud bridge, which he afterwards broke down, croſſed the *Bois-de-Boulogne*, arrived at the *Cours-la-Reine*, and intended to proceed through the *Porte de la Conference*; but the Pariſians refuſing to open it, he ſpent the night in the *Cours*; and next morning by day-break, in order to reach Charenton, he marched between *Le Roule* and

July 1.

nd the *Porte St. Honoré* by *La Ville l'Eveque*, *Les* An. 1652.
Porcherons, the ſuburbs of *St. Denis* and *St. Mar-*
in, and by the *Marais*, fearing every ſtep he
ook that his rear-guard would be attacked. Tu-
renne being informed of Condé's motions, ſet out
n the middle of the night, commanded his army
o follow him, ſent to deſire Marſhal de la Ferté
o come and join him with his troops, which were
lready on the other ſide of the Seine; and re-
ſolved, without waiting, either for the canon or
or Marſhal de la Ferté, to attack the Prince before
e could reach Charenton. The Viſcount went to
St. Denis, to confer there with Cardinal Mazarin,
nd arrived at Chapelle, where he diſcovered the
enemy. Going to reconnoitre them, he found, at July 2.
he entrance of the ſuburb of St. Denis, part of
heir infantry poſted in wind-mills and houſes: but
he muſketeers he cauſed to advance drove them
way, and gave the King's horſe an opportunity
o charge their rear-guard, which, after fighting
ome time, was routed, and the greateſt part of their
Officers ſlain. Turenne ſtill repulſing the rebels,
came up, about the hoſpital of St. Lewis, with the
reſt of their rear-guard, conſiſting of about three
hundred horſe, and cut them to pieces.

The Prince, thus vigorouſly purſued, found it
would be impoſſible for him to reach Charenton,
and therefore reſolved to retire into the ſuburb of St.
Anthony. Reduced to this extremity, he was glad
to find in that ſuburb, beſides the barriers where
toll is paid to the King, ſome intrenchments which
had been lately thrown up to ſtop the incurſions of
the Duke of Lorrain's troops, when poſted at Vil-
leneuve St. Georges. Immediately he fortifies both,
raiſes new barricades croſs the ſtreets; bores holes in
the walls of the houſes, where he lodges muſke-
teers; lines with horſe and foot all the places by which
he may be attacked; gives the command of them to

The Prince of Condé entrenches himſelf in the ſuburb of St. Anthony.

Officers,

An. 1652. Officers, equally diſtinguiſhed for their bravery and experience, and makes the large area before St. Anthony's gate a place of arms. In a word, Condé never gave more ſhining marks of ſkill in diſpoſing, nor of valour in executing.

The Court is urgent with the Viſcount, to attack the Prince ſooner than he thought proper.

Turenne having kept very cloſe to the enemy the whole length of the ſuburbs, was got to that of St. Anthony, where he intended to halt, and not come to action, till Marſhal de la Ferté ſhould join him. At the ſame time the King, the Cardinal, and the whole Court, came to Charonne hill, whence they beheld, as from an amphitheatre, the melancholy ſcenes of this famous action. As ſoon as the Royal infantry had joined the cavalry, the Viſcount was ordered to attack the ſuburb without delay. In vain he repreſented, that as it would be impoſſible for the enemy to eſcape, unleſs the Pariſians ſhould open their gates to them, 'twould be raſh to attack troops ſo ſtrongly entrench'd, before he had got artillery, and inſtruments neceſſary for beating down the walls, filling up the intrenchments, and forcing the barricades: the Court was ſo impatient, that no regard was had to his remonſtrances; the Duke of Bouillon was more than any body urgent with his brother, and inſinuated to him, that ſhould he oppoſe the Cardinal's will, a ſuſpicion might ariſe, that he intended to ſpare the Prince of Condé. However, the Viſcount did not acquieſce till orders were ſent him a ſecond time, to attack the enemy that moment.

The battle of St. Anthony.

The ſuburb of St. Anthony conſiſts of three principal ſtreets, which terminate at the gate of the city, as their center, forming a kind of duck's foot; and theſe three ſtreets are croſs'd by ſeveral others. The Viſcount firſt extended his army on a curve line from the foot of Charonne to the river of Seine, to ſtop every outlet to the Prince's forces. He gave orders for three attacks at the ſame time

time. Turenne gave the command of that on the right, towards Charonne, to the Marquis de St. Mêgrin *; that on the left, towards the Seine, to the Marquis de Navailles †; himſelf taking charge of the middle attack by the high-ſtreet. He exhorted the officers to poſſeſs themſelves of the croſs-ſtreets, in proportion as they ſhould advance in the ſuburb, that the ſeveral bodies of troops, by this communication, might have an opportunity of uniting and ſuccouring one another in the great ſtreets. Theſe diſpoſitions being made, the King's troops marched to the intrenchments of the rebels, who made a dreadful fire, but they were drove from them by a ſuperior fire, and the Royaliſts came up to the barricades. The Marquis de St. Mégrin at the head of the French guards, and de la Marine's regiment, ſuſtained by the gendarmes and the light horſe, attacked that of Charonne-ſtreet, and made himſelf maſter of it in ſpite of the fire which was poured in on all ſides from the houſes and the walls. Immediately the gendarmes and the light horſe ruſhed into this ſtreet, got before the infantry, without giving them time to drive the rebels out of the neighbouring houſes, and, with an indiſcreet ardour, purſued the runaways to the market-place *. The Prince being there, advanced at the head of twenty officers and volunteers, who were near him, and charged them ſo vigorouſly, that they were forced back upon their infantry; theſe, as well as the cavalry, being now put into diſorder, were repulſed by the rebels, and drove back again to the firſt barricade, thoſe that were lodged in the houſes firing on them all that time. The Marquis de St. Mégrin and the Marquis de Mancini the Cardinal's nephew loſt their lives in the action. An. 1652.

* James Stuart de Cauſſade Prince of Carency, Marquis of St. Mêgrin, and Count of Vauguyon.

† Philip de Montault de Foix, afterwards Peer and Marſhal of France.

* The Duke of York's Memoirs.

An. 1652. During this engagement on the right, Turenne's regiment of foot on the left, towards Charenton-ſtreet, drove the rebels out of ſeveral houſes and ſome gardens, where they were poſted; but having advice of Mêgrin's defeat, and fearing its retreat ſhould be cut off, it halted, and contented itſelf with maintaining what it had won. The regiments of Uxelles and Carignan attacked, farther up to the left, the walls of a garden: tho' their two Lieutenant Colonels had loſt their lives at the firſt onſet, the ſoldiers advanced of themſelves; and notwithſtanding the great fire poured in upon them, they marched up to the intervals of the openings, through which the rebels fired; and now muſkets being of no uſe, they made uſe of piſtols; they threw ſtones at one another, and thruſt their ſwords through the holes which they widened with their hands, for want of proper inſtruments. During this conflict, which was carried on a long time with a kind of mad fury, the two regiments were ſuſtained by a ſquadron of horſe drawn out of the regiments of Clare and Richelieu, which being put into diſorder at firſt, rallied afterwards, and maintained its poſt to the end of the action *. A little nearer the river, cloſe by Rambouillet-garden, the Marquis de Navailles ſtorm'd the barricade that was before him, diſlodged the enemy from the houſes, and obliged them to retire behind the neighbouring gardens, whither ſome of their infantry were already arrived: Eclainvilliers a Major General in the Royal army, miſtaking their retreat for a flight, paſſed the barricade with the horſe under his command: They faced about at the ſame time, and perceiving he could not advance above two in front againſt them, charged him before half his men were got thorough, or he could draw them up; defeated him, took him priſoner, killed a great number of his troops, and ſome officers;

Rage of the ſoldiers on both ſides.

* The Duke of York's Memoirs.

cers; and after purſuing the reſt to the barricade, retired through the midſt of a brisk fire made by the King's infantry, who had ſeized upon the houſes the rebels had juſt before abandoned. An. 1652.

The Viſcount de Turenne, who till now had engaged in the other attacks, advanced at length into the high-ſtreet, the barrier of which he had already cut, in ſpite of the great reſiſtance made by thoſe who defended it. He was marching in order through this ſtreet, bearing down all before him, and was upon the point of winning the firſt traverſes, when Condé checked his progreſs †. This Prince formed a ſquadron of all the perſons of Quality in his army, who were not in commiſſion, and of ſuch Gentlemen as were attached to him, ruſhed upon the King's troops, made them give way, and beat them back to the barricade. The Viſcount getting together a body which had not yet engaged, while the Prince was letting his men take breath, forced his way a ſecond time through the barricade, bore down all who oppoſed him, broke through ſeveral traverſes, and got to St. Anthony's Abbey, in the midſt of the ſuburb; but Condé ruſhed again upon him with freſh vigour, and again repulſed him. No action was ever diſputed with more ſteddy, obſtinate valour: the two Generals covered with blood, and perpetually expoſed to the fire of the muſketeers, who ſhot from the houſes to the right and left, fought often oppoſite to one another within piſtol-ſhot; the martial fury of the one and the coolneſs of the other form'd a contraſt, the ſight of which raiſed admiration and terror. At laſt, the Viſcount ſeeing it would not be poſſible for him to force this body of choſen horſe, detached ſome troops from his attack, who went and rein-

The Viſcount is repulſed twice by the Prince of Condé.

† It appears from the Memoirs of de la Rochefoucault, and by the MSS. Hiſt. of Abbé Raguenet, that this action is not the ſame with that in Charenton-ſtreet, where St. Mêgrin was killed.

An. 1652. forced thoſe under the Marquis de Navailles, in order to charge Condé behind and ſurround him *.

Brave action of the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours.

That moment Marſhal de la Ferté's troops arrived with the canon. They planted ſix guns at the entrance of the high-ſtreet, which ſoon cleared it of all the ſoldiers that were there: they afterwards fired upon the houſes which defended the paſs of the barricade. As the walls were very thin, the balls eaſily pierced them; however, the rebels maintained themſelves reſolutely in the houſes, and continued to fire from the windows. In the mean time the Duke of Beaufort, who had ſpent the whole morning to no purpoſe in haranguing the Pariſians, to exhort them to open their gates to the Prince, came out of Paris, and, fired with emulation, reſolved to ſignalize himſelf by ſome ſhining action. Having propoſed to the Duke de Nemours the recovering of the barricade which the Marquis de Navailles had won, and by that means to prevent the Prince's forces from being ſurrounded, he poſted himſelf with the Duke, at the head of a body of foot: theſe being joined by the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and ſeveral perſons of Quality, who were ſtill in a condition to fight, they all marched with intrepidity between the fires of du Pleſſis-Praſlin's and Douglas's regiments, poſted on the two ſides of the paſſage: however, the regiment of Picardy which defended the barricade repulſed them with ſo much vigour that they could not force it †. The Duke de Nemours was wounded in ſeveral parts of the body, the Duke de la Rochefoucault in the corner of his eye, not to mention ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction that were kill'd or wounded. The Viſcount, who at the diſcharge of the fire-arms had haſted thither, finding the poſt ſtill maintained, and

* MSS. Hiſt. of Raguenet.

† The Duke of York's Memoirs, which are here preferred to that of Rochefoucault.

in good condition, returned to the fight in the high-ſtreet, where the enemy poſted in the houſes on the left hand of the barricade ſtill held out. As he had diſcovered a place which was not guarded, he caus'd ſome of his troopers to alight, and theſe ſtealing behind, ſurrounded and forc'd theſe houſes, where a hundred men, who had ſo long defended them, were all put to the ſword †. At the ſame time the regiments of Uxelles and Carignan, which had all along fought through the holes of a wall, by continuing to enlarge thoſe holes at length made it tumble, and drove the enemy out of all the gardens to the left †. An. 1652.

The Prince of Condé's troops being now diſhearten'd by ſo many attacks, were ſeiz'd with terror, abandoned the barricades and the traverſes, and retiring into the place of arms before St. Anthony's gate, refus'd to advance, and would no longer obey. The Viſcount being now reſolved to make a general attack, did not think proper to purſue them; whilſt he allow'd his troops a few moments to take breath, he caus'd the artillery to be brought forward towards the place of arms, and the ſignal being given, they began the general attack. A dreadful ſlaughter was now going to be made of the Prince's troops, thus hemm'd in and crouded in the place of arms, when the Pariſians, who having ſtood neuter hitherto and only as ſpectators, ſeeing the extremity to which the Prince was reduced, declared in his favour, and opened the City gate. The canon of the Baſtille firing at the ſame time, kept the Viſcount from purſuing the enemy into Paris. The Pariſians open their gates to the Prince's forces.

The Pariſians, prejudiced by the artifices of Cardinal de Retz, and imagining that a peace was made, by which they were excluded, had conſidered the beginning of this action as a farce that was The Princeſs de Montpenſier raiſes the Pariſians againſt the King.

† The Duke of York's Memoirs. * Ibid.

An. 1652. playing in concert with Mazarin. De Retz, delighted with the thoughts of ſeeing the Prince cut to pieces, did not ſtir from the Duke of Orleans, but was for ever diſſuading him from going out and hazarding his perſon. On the other ſide, the Princeſs de Montpenſier did her utmoſt to wake Gaſton her father out of the lethargy into which de Retz had thrown him. At laſt, having extorted from him the orders ſhe wanted, ſhe her ſelf carried them to the Town-houſe, went from ſtreet to ſtreet to rouze the people, excited them to take up arms, and detached part of them to ſkirmiſh, at the time that the canon of the Baſtille was firing on the King's army, and the Prince's troops were entring the City. Condé croſs'd Paris, marched his army beyond St. Victor's ſuburb, towards the ſalt-peter works, and intrenched himſelf between the Seine and the little river of the Gobelins, where, as Paris lay behind him, he thought he could neither be forced nor ſtarved.

Maſſacre in the Town-hall.

Two days after this battle a great tumult happen'd in Paris. A council, at which the repreſentatives of the ſeveral Livery-companies aſſiſted, was holding in the Town-houſe. Propoſals were there made, to declare the Duke of Orleans LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM, to ſentence Cardinal Mazarin to perpetual baniſhment, to appoint the Duke of Beaufort Governor of Paris, in the room of the Marſhal de l'Hôpital, and to make Brouſſel Prevoſt of the Merchants. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, who were there in the beginning, coming out, to leave the council free to debate on the articles propoſed, a company of armed men, ſeemingly of all conditions, came tumultuouſly to the *Grêve*, and after crying aloud, that the Prince of Condé's will ſhould be obeyed in all things, they attempted to force the Town-houſe, ſet fire to the gates, and ſhot at ſuch as were at the windows. The flames ſoon began to ſpread, when moſt of thoſe

hoſe who were in the Town-houſe either ruſhed down by the ſtair caſe, or threw themſelves out of he lower windows; and now the mutineers confounding the Frondeurs with the Royaliſts, butchered all without diſtinction. This dreadful tumult, which laſted till very near midnight, could not be appreſs'd, till the Duke of Beaufort, who was the idol of the people, came up. The cauſe of this diſaſter has never been exactly known. There is ome reaſon to believe, that the Prince of Condé had poſted certain ſoldiers in diſguiſe, to intimidate he aſſembly, and prevent its coming to any reſolutions contrary to his intereſt: but they very probably exceeded his orders; nevertheleſs, the bare ſuſpicion of this inſpired the Pariſians with a violent hatred againſt the Prince; and this aſſembly, which the Fronde believed would prove its ſecurity, was one of the chief cauſes of its ruin. The aſſembly met again on the ſucceeding days, and moſt of the articles concluded upon were according to the Prince of Condé's directions. An. 1652.

The Spaniards taking advantage of the troubles which diſtreſſed the Capital of the Kingdom, recovered in a little time, on the frontier which was now unguarded, ſeveral ſtrong holds they had loſt the preceding years. In this ſituation of things the Prince of Condé repreſented to the Archduke, that he was no longer able to keep the field; and that if ſtronger ſuccours were not ſent him, it would not be poſſible for him long to make head againſt the King's army. The Archduke fearing the Prince would abandon the party, and being now under no apprehenſions of any thing on the ſide of Flanders, ordered Fuenſaldagne to march his army into France, and join the forces of the Duke of Lorrain, who, purſuant to his cuſtom, had again broke his treaty with the Court, and entred into new engagements with the Archduke. Theſe two bodies united, making

The Spaniards march an army of 20000 men, to ſuccour the Prince of Condé.

An. 1652. making upwards of 20000 fighting men, were to march with the Prince of Condé, to cut in pieces the King's army, which was no more than 8000 men.

The Court resolves to retire to Lyons, and the Viſcount oppoſes this deſign.

The Court which had reſided at St. Denis, being alarmed at this news, reſolved to remove farther from Paris, and to ſeek an Aſylum in ſome of the provinces. Roan and Dijon having refuſed to receive it, except the Cardinal were diſmiſſed at the ſame time, the Queen turned her views to Lyons, and reſolved to convey the King thither, under a guard of 2000 men *. Turenne was told this at St. Denis by his brother the Duke of Bouillon, and foreſeeing the fatal conſequences of it, he went and repreſented to the Cardinal, "That the Court's re-
"treat to ſuch a diſtance would infallibly occaſion the
"loſs of all the ſtrong holds on the frontiers of Pi-
"cardy, Champagne and Lorrain; that when thoſe
"Provinces ſhould be abandon'd, all the inhabitants
"of them would join either with the Spaniards or the
"Princes; that other provinces would be excited by
"their example to take up arms, which would per-
"haps reduce the Court to the neceſſity of leaving
"the Kingdom: that it was more decent, and even
"ſafer, to remove the King to Pontoiſe, attended
"by his uſual guard; that this poſt, which might
"be eaſily defended, would ſecure him from any
"attempts of the Pariſians, who beſides were very
"much alienated from the Princes, ever ſince the
"maſſacre in the Town-houſe; that he himſelf
"would march the army to Compiegne, to obſerve
"the motions of Fuenſaldagne; that then the Spa-
"niſh General would be afraid of marching to
"Paris, ſince he thereby would leave Flanders
"undefended, and the King's army would lie be-
"tween his and that country; that the Spaniards
"would certainly imagine there was ſomething

* See the Viſcount's Memoirs.

"myſterious

myſterious in the march of his Majeſty's forces to Compiegne, and be perſuaded, that the Court would not have dar'd to venture it, had they not been firmly perſuaded, ſome reconciliation would be made with the Prince of Condé." An. 1652.

The Cardinal was ſenſible of the ſtrength and ſolidity of the Viſcount's reaſons; accordingly, the journey to Lyons was laid aſide, the Court remov'd to Pontoiſe, and the army arrived in three days at Compiegne. Fuenſaldagne was advanced as far as Chauni, where the Duke d'Elbeuf very imprudently ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up with ſeven or eight hundred horſe he had raiſed in his government of Picardy: the enemy had cut off all the paſſes; the town was in a weak condition; he was forced to ſurrender, after ſuſtaining only a two day's ſiege; and by the capitulation, the troopers were obliged to leave their horſes with the Spaniards. The Viſcount de Turenne had wiſely foreſeen, that his march to Compiegne would ſtop the Enemy. After the taking of Chauni, which they abandoned, they did not attempt the ſiege of any other place, but contented themſelves with laying waſte the country, fearing to advance farther up into it, and for ever ſuſpecting ſome ſecret reconciliation between the rebels and the Court; they returned into Flanders, leaving on the frontiers the Duke of Lorrain with his forces, and a detachment of their army commanded by Duke Ulrick of Wirtemberg, to ſuccour the Princes whenever they ſhould want aſſiſtance.

The Viſcount drives the Spaniards out of France. 17 July.

The Spaniards were no ſooner returned to Flanders, but the Viſcount de Turenne in the beginning of May marched back his army to the neighbourhood of Paris, within a league of Goneſſe, and it continued there to the end of the month. During this time he was obliged to go to Pontoiſe, upon a very melancholy occaſion, for the Duke of Bouillon had been ſick of a fever there, which carried him off in a few

Death of the Duke of Bouillon.

An. 1652. few days. He was beginning to be considered as a superior genius, and more capable of presiding in the administration than even Mazarin himself; and the Queen was going to entrust him with the general superintendance of the Finances. "His death, says "the Duke of Rochefoucault, ought to give men a "distaste for those plans they form for their own ex- "altation. The Duke of Bouillon's ambition was "supported by all the great qualities that were ca- "pable of making it successful. He was brave, and "perfectly well skilled in the science of war; "master of an easy, natural and insinuating elo- "quence; a man of sound sense, and a wonderful pe- "netration; of a head clear and unclouded, fruitful "in expedients, and able to carry on the most dif- "ficult affairs: he listened to all counsels that were "given him calmly, attentively, and with a certain "delicacy, which set off the reasons of others, and "made his resolutions seem to be the effect of their "arguments. His stubborn fortune continually op- "posed the measures of his prudence, and he died "just as his prudence had got the better of his un- "just fortune *." The Viscount de Turenne was less afflicted for the loss of a Chief of his Family, whose merit was so conspicuous, than for that of a brother, for whom he had the most tender affection; but his grief, how great soever, did not suspend the application he thought due to the urgent necessities of the State.

The Parliament divided into two parts.

Whilst the Court was at Pontoise, the Chamber of the Parliament, animated by the Prince of Conde's faction, met, and gave an arret, declaring that as the King, prejudiced by the pernicious counsels of the Cardinal, could not be looked upon as free, the Duke of Orleance, to preserve the State from the impending ruin with which it was threat-

* MSS. Mem. de la Rochefoucault, cited by Abbé Raguenet, as having been seen by Cardinal de Bouillon.

d by the ambition of Cardinal Mazarin, ſhould desired to take upon himſelf the title of his Maty's Lieutenant General throughout the whole ngdom, ſo long as the Miniſter ſhould continue France. Gaſton having accepted of the title ich was offered him, advice was ſent of it to all Governours of Provinces, and this Prince choſe nſelf a Council: the Dukes of Nemours and ufort being members of it, quarrelled about precency, fought, and the former was kill'd. The ng, exaſperated againſt the Parliament, publiſhed declaration, by which he removed this tribu- from Paris to Pontoiſe: all the Preſidents *à ortier*, Nemond and Maiſons excepted, obeyed, h fourteen or fifteen Counſellors, and came to place appointed by the King. At the opening the ſeſſions, the declaration which removed the rliament was ratified, and all who had continued Paris were ſuſpended from the exerciſe of their ctions. An. 1652.

The Members of Parliament ſitting at Pontoiſe d little more affection for Mazarin than the reſt their brethren: they were no ſooner met, but y repreſented to the Miniſter, that 'twas in his wer to reſtore the publick tranquillity; that as his ſence was the pretence for the Factions, theſe uld immediately ceaſe upon his leaving the Kingm: that in caſe they ſhould ſubſiſt after his deture, all honeſt men would then be convinced the malecontents harboured ill deſigns, and would nimouſly endeavour to get him recall'd with hor. The Cardinal ſtruck with theſe remonſtran- conſulted the Viſcount de Turenne, who think- them judicious, adviſed him to retire for a time; not to give out that he would never come back, order to prevent his enemies from exclaiming inſt him, upon his return, as guilty of breach promiſe. At laſt the Cardinal reſolved to ſacri- Cardinal Mazarin leaves the kingdom a ſecond time, and retires to Bouillon.

An. 1652. fice himſelf for ſome months, and very artfully engaged the Queen to cauſe a decree to be paſt by the Parliament at Pontoiſe, for making moſt humble remonſtrances to the King, and ſupplicating his Majeſty to reſtore peace to his people, by removing the Prime Miniſter. The King made anſwer, that notwithſtanding Cardinal Mazarin had ſerved him very well, and was only a pretext for the malecontents to diſturb the Government, he yet would conſent to deprive himſelf of a good Miniſter, in order to pacify his Kingdom, and bring back the rebels to their allegiance. Immediately after, the Cardinal having confided the adminiſtration to Le Tellier and Servien his faithful friends, given his Majeſty a paper of inſtruction for his conduct in all occaſions, and relying entirely on the Queen who had been ever ſteady to him, he ſet out with a large retinue, went and lay at Meaux, and retired to Bouillon.

10 Auguſt.

The Duke of Lorrain returns to France a ſecond time.

The Prince of Condé was ſtill encamped under the walls of Paris. He had not forces enough to venture a battle, and was afraid, in caſe he removed from this city, that the King's party, which encreaſed daily ever ſince the Cardinal's abſence, would get the aſcendant. In the mean time the Duke of Lorrain was marching towards Paris at the head of his 10000 men, with the reinforcement of 6000 Spaniards commanded by the Duke of Wirtemberg. The Viſcount having advice, that he took the rout of Champagne, to join the army of the Prince of Condé, marched towards the Marne, croſſed the river at Lagni, and advanced to the little village of St Germain near Creſſi in Brie: there he received orders from Court, not to act againſt the Duke of Lorrain in any manner, unleſs that Prince ſhould remove from the place where he was encamped, and march towards Paris. The Duke had renewed his negotiations with the Court, by which means

e hoped to meet with an opportunity of advancing An. 1752.
earer to the Prince of Condé, without being obliged
o fight. Turenne being perfectly well acquainted
ith his character, after telling the Duke of York,
hat he would rather expoſe himſelf to loſe his head,
y diſobeying orders, than betray the intereſt of his
Majeſty, in ſuffering himſelf to be over-reached by
e Duke of Lorrain, broke up his camp the next
orning, and marched to Brie-Comte-Robert, to
ave the better opportunity of intercepting him
his march. His Quarter-maſters found thoſe of
e Duke there, who intended to encamp in that
lace the ſame night; upon which, the Viſcount
aving conſulted with Marſhal de la Ferté, chang-
his reſolution, and marched directly to Ville-
euve St. George. He himſelf went before with
l his cavalry; the infantry followed him with the
nnon, and Marſhal de la Ferté headed the rear-
ard. Turenne was juſtly apprehenſive, that the
uke of Lorrain would alſo change his deſign, and
at ſenſible of the importance of that poſt, he would
oſſeſs himſelf of it before him, and he was not miſ-
ken in his conjectures. Tho' he marched with
e utmoſt diligence, yet the Lorrain van-guard
riv'd before him at Ville-neuve St. George, whence
e Duke ſent advice to the Prince of Condé, that he
d poſſeſs'd himſelf of it. But tho' the Duke was
after of this place, and part of his troops had
oſs'd the river Yeres, yet the Viſcount arriving
h his van-guard at the hill which commands the
wn, drove the Lorrainers from it, and ſeiſed upon
bridge. Marſhal de la Ferté came up towards
evening with the reſt of the army; and the
my having miſſed the poſt, marched a league
her up, along the Seine, oppoſite to the caſtle
Ablon, where the Prince joined them a few
ys after.

I

The

An. 1652. The Prince of Condé and the Duke of Lorrain endeavour to block up the Viſcount in his camp.

The enemy being greatly ſuperior in numbers, were perſuaded they ſhould now be able to ſtarve the Royal army, by blocking it up between the rivers of Seine and Yeres. The Viſcount had bread for but five days; he was in want of forrage, and he could not procure any in the neighbourhood, becauſe the whole country was laid waſte. He had had the precaution to ſtop at Villeneuve St. George the day he arrived there twenty five boats, which were going down the river; theſe boats ſaved the army; they were immediately uſed for the making two bridges croſs the Seine; in which work beams taken from the houſes of the town were alſo employed; ſuch Officers as had money gave it for the workmen; and in ſpite of the difficulties, which at firſt appeared inſurmountable, the bridges were ſoon finiſhed; and works were thrown up with equal diſpatch, to ſecure the entrances of them on the other ſide of the Seine *. This communication furniſhed the ſoldiers with bread, and the horſes with forrage, the latter having hitherto had no other provender but vine-leaves. The Marſhals de Turenne and de la Ferté reſolved at the ſame time to fortify themſelves in their poſt, and joined, by lines, the ſix redoubts the Duke of Lorrain had raiſed near Limei three months before, and which were ſtill entire. The Royal army poſted between Limei and the river Yeres, which ſerved as a foſs to the camp, extended on one ſide to the Seine, and on the other was covered by a wood. The enemy, ſeeing the eight thouſand men who compoſed it thus entrenched, were afraid of making any attempt, though with twenty thouſand, and perſiſted in the reſolution of ſtarving it, by blocking it up on all ſides. To confine it within ſtill narrower bounds, they broke up their camp, having firſt put a garriſon in Ablon; the Duke of Lorrain marched his troops higher up the river Yeres, paſſed

* The Duke of York's Memoirs.

, and came and poſted himſelf between Brie- An. 1652.
Comte-Robert and the camp of the two Generals,
hilſt the Prince of Condé advanced towards Limei.
The Duke and the Prince being both entrenched
ithin canon ſhot of the Royal army, inveſting, and
s it were beſieging it in the angle made by the two
vers, ſent advice to Paris, that they had at laſt re-
uced the Royaliſts to the neceſſity of fighting, or dy-
g with hunger. As it was now believed that the
iſcount muſt inevitably be defeated, his conduct was
penly and univerſally cenſured; and ſome did not
ven ſcruple to charge him with holding a correſpon-
nce with the enemy *. The Court had never
en in ſo great a perplexity: Cardinal Mazarin
d left France; the Duke of Bouillon was juſt
ad; the Parliament had declared the Duke of
rleans Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and
e Prince of Condé Generaliſſimo of the Crown
mies: The Miniſters, trembling with fear, made
s Prince extravagant offers, who, conſidering
mſelf now as maſter, rejected with diſdain all
opoſals of accommodation, how advantageous
ver; but Turenne's great capacity enabled him
fruſtrate the mighty hopes with which Condé had
ttered himſelf.

The firſt thing the Prince, after entrenching him- Viſcount de Turenne fruſtrates the hopes of the two Princes during ſix weeks.
f, took care of, was to make a bridge of boats,
order to cut off Turenne's communication with
rbeil; while the Duke of Lorrain, to interrupt
t with Brie, was ſending out parties continually.
e Viſcount, by taking the caſtle of Ablon be-
e the bridge was built, defeated all Condé's mea-
es, and ſecured, by means of the Seine, the com-
nication between his camp and Corbeil, whither
ubecourt † brought two thouſand men, and

* MSS. Mem. of Raguenet.

† This body of two thouſand men came from the ſiege of Montrond, which ſurrendred.

where

An. 1652. where an hundred troopers were already poſted. Detachments from theſe troops were every day ſent out, as well as from thoſe of the camp, which cours'd along the banks of the Seine; and the foragers were always guarded by large eſcorts of foot and horſe. The foragers uſed to ſet out in the night, croſs the river Eſſone, go and forage undiſturbed on the other ſide of Corbeil, come back to that place and ſtop there, or elſe return to the camp, by this or that ſide of the river, according as there was more or leſs danger, of which they had advice by the detachments which were for ever upon the ſcout. This laſted for five weeks together, during which not a ſingle ſkirmiſh was fought between the two armies, nor one convoy carried off; and to theſe convoys was owing the preſervation of the Royal army which the Prince of Condé had vainly flattered himſelf with the hopes of deſtroying by famine.

The Pariſians are inclined to favour the Court.

The Pariſians bore for ſome time, patiently enough, the troubleſome neighbourhood of the two armies, upon the promiſe the Prince of Condé made, to deliver them ſoon from it: but finding the hopes he fed them with, were merely illuſive, they made ſerious reflections on their own infatuation, in ſuffering themſelves to be prey'd upon by foreigners, merely to ſatisfy the ambition of thoſe to whom they had abandoned themſelves. Cardinal de Retz, whoſe ſole aim was to get Mazarin's place, and ruin the Prince of Condé, ſet every engine at work to increaſe the miſunderſtanding. The friends of the Parliament being very much divided among themſelves, diſagreed ſtill more with the Princes; the Princes themſelves were diſunited, and no longer relied on the Parliament or the people, ever ſince the maſſacre in the Town-houſe, diſcovered, by their frequent tumults, the deteſtation in which they held the *Frondeurs*, whether of the ſword or the gown. In this ſituation of things

the loyal part of the Pariſians ſoon made their fellow citizens ſenſible of the abyſs of calamities into which Condé's ambition, and the private views of the malecontents were going to plunge them; and by this means inſpired them with ſentiments more conformable to their duty *. An. 1652.

The Queen being almoſt certain that the Pariſians were now inclined to favour the Court, imagined, that by recalling the army near the King's perſon, ſhe ſhould forward the concluſion of the reconciliation which was then negotiating, and therefore ſent orders to the Viſcount de Turenne and Marſhal de la Ferté to endeavour to get free, and come and join the Court. The roads being now much ſpoilt by the rains began to put a ſtop to their foraging, ſo that the Generals, who already were determined to remove, ſoon threw ſeveral bridges over the river Yeres towards the Seine: at the ſame time they ſent orders to Vaubecourt, who was in Corbeil, to raiſe ſome redoubts on an eminence before the city for the reception of the army; and ſet out in the night between the fourth and fifth of October. They filed off in good order along the banks of the Seine with the utmoſt ſilence, having the inſtant the army had got over the Yeres cauſed the bridges to be broke down. The Duke of Lorrain was ignorant of the retreat of the two Generals till the next day. Had the Prince of Condé, whoſe health had obliged him to remove to Paris, been at that time in the army, their march perhaps would not have been a ſecret to him; but then it would have been ſcarce poſſible for him to oppoſe it. After marching a league the army was covered all the way on one ſide by the river Seine, and on the other by the foreſt of Senard, ſo that the enemy could not charge it in the flank. All the troops arrived at

The Viſcount decamps to go and join the Court.

5 October.

* The Duke of York's Memoirs.

An. 1652. Corbeil before day; and though they were to rest themſelves there but one night, they threw up intrenchments fortified with paliſades, to prevent their being ſurprized. Turenne and la Ferté intending to croſs the Marne at Meaux, in order to join the Court at Mantes, went by Chaumes; and fearing an attack they marched the troops in two columns, in ſuch an order, that if the enemy had appeared the army would have been in a poſture to receive them, by only facing to the left. The rebels not daring to make any attempt that day, the army advanced the day following, with leſs apprehenſion, by Prêle, Tournan and Quinci, as far as the Marne, which it croſſed near Meaux; whence it marched by Mount l'Eveque, and encamped at Courtevil in the neighbourhood of Senlis.

The Viſcount brings back the King to Paris.

So ſurprizing a retreat, made in preſence of the enemy much ſuperior in numbers, compleated the ruin of the Prince's credit with the Pariſians. The ſeaſon advanced, and the country being now quite laid waſte, could not furniſh any more proviſions. Theſe conſiderations obliged Condé to retire, with the Duke of Lorrain, into the neighbourhood of Laon, where Fuenſaldagne's forces were encamped. The army of the Princes paſſed in its march near that of the King, the fourteenth of October; and the moment it was gone, the Viſcount, leaving the command to Marſhal de la Ferté, went and waited upon the Court at Mantes, to perſuade it to return to Paris. He repreſented to the Miniſters that they ought to take advantage of the Prince of Condé's abſence, and not give the Pariſians time to come off from the hatred they bore to the *Frondeurs*; that as the Officers daily left the army for want of money, the King would ſoon be left without troops; that the Court would not be in a condition the next campaign, to make head againſt the enemy, whoſe forces would then be augmented; that

the Pariſians would be leſs inclined to receive the King, and that other cities would follow the example of the capital. The Court yielded to his reaſons, left Mantes, and went and lay at St. Germains: it continued here three or four days, after which having given audience to ſome Deputies who came from Paris to ſupplicate his Majeſty to return thither, it proceeded by St. Cloud-bridge. As it was advancing near the Bois de Boulogne, ſome perſons, whether with a good or ill deſign, is not known, gave an alarm, declaring that it was raſhly hazarding the King's perſon to carry him to Paris, ſince the Duke of Orleans and the Princeſs his daughter were caballing there in order to raiſe a new rebellion. The King's coach ſtopt, and the Queen having ordered the Ladies who were with her to alight, held a council in the open field with Prince Thomas, the Viſcount de Turenne, and the Marſhals de Villeroi and du Pleſſis. All but Turenne were of opinion, that it would be beſt for the Court to go back; but he ſtill perſiſting in his firſt opinion, and ſupporting it by new reaſons, demonſtrated, that the King's return to St. Germains would equally prejudice his intereſt and his honour; that this laſt ſtep would betray a want of reſolution, which would bring the Court into contempt, damp the courage of all loyal ſubjects, and raiſe the hopes of the rebels; and finally, that he conſidered either as ſecret enemies, or as weak minds, thoſe who had come and alarmed the Court ſo unſeaſonably. The Queen who was naturally couragious followed without once heſitating the advice of Turenne; and accordingly the King at the head of his Guards entered the city through St. Honore's-Gate, was received every where with acclamations, and followed to the Louvre by a crowd of people, who were for ever crying, LONG LIVE THE KING. The day after the Court was arrived, the Duke of Orleans

An. 1652.

An. 1652. withdrew first to Limours, and afterwards to Blois, and the Princess, his daughter, went to St. Fargeau. The Chambers of the Parliament met at the Louvre, according to the order sent them for that purpose; there four declarations were ratified; for the reunion of the Parliament of Pontoise with that of Paris; for a general pardon in favour of those who should return to their allegiance in a fortnight; for prohibiting the Parliament to concern itself with affairs of State; and for obliging twelve either Presidents or Counsellors to depart: moreover the Dukes of Beaufort, Rohan, and Rochefoucault, and all the domestics of the Prince of Condé and the Duchess of Longueville, were forbid to appear in Paris. This great city was soon restored to order, and the calm which succeeded obliterated the remembrance of all the feuds and divisions the *Fronde* had occasioned.

The Prince of Condé retires to the frontiers, and takes several towns.

The Prince of Condé was the only one who refused to accept of the pardon: he chose to go over to the Spaniards and lose all his estates and employments in France, rather than live in that Kingdom with Cardinal Mazarin, who was recalled soon after. The Prince retired to the frontiers of Champagne with the Duke of Lorrain, the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Count de Fuensaldagne. He took in a short time Chateau-Porcien, Rhetel, Mouson and Sainte Menehoult; he disbanded the Duke of Orleans's troops that were in his army, and permitted them to return into France, on condition that they should not serve the King the remainder of the campaign. The enemy after this seized upon Bar-le-Duc, from whence Fuensaldagne retired into Flanders with the greatest part of his troops, not doubting but the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Lorrain would be strong enough to make themselves masters of the whole country of Bar: and indeed they soon took Ligni, Void, and

Con-

Commerci; reſolved to fix their winter quarters in the country, after which they flattered themſelves with the thoughts of returning into France in the ſpring *. An. 1652.

The Viſcount de Turenne would not leave the Court, till ſuch time as the King's authority was fully re-eſtabliſhed in Paris: the moment he found all things were reſtored to their former tranquillity, he again opened the campaign in a ſeaſon when 'tis generally ended. He ſet out the thirtieth of October after telling his Majeſty, that he hoped he ſhould be able to hinder the enemy from taking winter-quarters in the Kingdom, and put himſelf at the head of the army, which had been reinforced with two thouſand men; in the mean time Marſhal de la Ferté went to his Government of Nanci. Turenne advanced towards Lorrain, and without ſetting down before the ſmall towns the Prince had taken, and which he had garriſoned with part of his troops, marched directly to the enemy; he arrived at Vaucouleurs, there croſs'd the Meuſe, behind which they were poſted in the neighbourhood of Toul, obliged them to decamp, and ſtill purſued them. The Prince, who had very few infantry left, firſt retired from the Caſtle of Void to Commerci, thence to St. Mihel; whence he ſet out ſuddenly, with an intention to reach Damvilliers in Luxemburg. The Viſcount did not think proper to go farther than St. Mihel: he was ſatisfied with his having forced Condé to leave the Kingdom, and now thought only of giving his army ſome refreſhment, the ſoldiers being prodigiouſly fatigued by the great number of painful marches. As the enemy had exhauſted the Country of proviſions, and the inhabitants of St. Mihel refuſed to ſupply him, he was obliged, in order to keep his army from periſhing with hunger, to let his infantry enter by force into their city, and to

The Viſcount purſues him, and forces him to leave the Kingdom.

October 30.

* The Duke of York's Memoirs.

An. 1652. diſtribute the cavalry up and down in the neighbouring villages. The troops were in great want of this refreſhment, but they could not enjoy it long. Marſhal de la Ferté, to whom the inhabitants of St. Mihel complained, was very much offended at the Viſcount for his having quartered his troops by violence, in a city of his government. Tranſported with anger, he came from Nanci to St. Mihel, and ſpoke in very harſh terms to the Viſcount, who endeavoured to pacify him, by remonſtrating to him, that what he had done had been the effect of neceſſity, and merely for the ſake of preſerving the Royal army: Notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, he was obliged to remove the next day, and la Ferté who was ſtill exaſperated, followed Turenne's troops at the head of his guards, and charged thoſe who lagged behind. The effects of this reſentment were afterwards yet more prejudicial to the King's intereſt *.

The Viſcount beſieges Bar-le-Duc, and Cardinal Mazarin arrives in the camp.

Whilſt the Marſhal went and beſieged Ligni, the Viſcount inveſted Bar-le-Duc. The night of his arrival before it, he raiſed a battery againſt the lower-town, and though he had nothing but field-pieces, and but few of theſe, they made the very firſt day a great breach in the walls near the gate, which was flanked with only two ſmall round towers. The beſiegers, notwithſtanding the great fire that was made from the towers, not only ſtormed the breach, but alſo drove the beſieged from the barricades they had raiſed in the ſtreets, and purſued them to the upper-town. After the infantry was lodged under covert in the lower city, and the cavalry diſtributed in quarters in the neighbourhood, Turenne laid ſiege to the upper-town and the caſtle. The day that the lower-town was taken, Cardinal Mazarin arrived at the camp with a reinforcement of troops drawn out of different garriſons, and com-

* The Duke of York's Memoirs.

manded

manded by the Duke d'Elbeuf and Marſhal d'Au- An. 1652.
mont; and theſe forces were ſoon joined by thoſe of Marſhal de la Ferté, who came to the ſiege after the taking of Ligni. The Prince of Condé, to prevent the taking of Bar, reſolved to ſuccour it; and advice being brought of his march, it was agreed that Turenne and la Ferté ſhould go and meet him with the greateſt part of the horſe, three thouſand foot, and ſix field pieces; that the Cardinal ſhould follow them at ſome diſtance, whilſt the Duke d'Elbeuf and Marſhal d'Aumont with the reſt of the troops ſhould continue the ſiege.

A conſiderable error committed by Marſhal de la Ferté, and the taking of Bar-le-Duc.

The enemy were coming by the way of Vaubecourt, which is but five leagues from Bar: the King's army marched directly towards them; and the Viſcount, who headed the vanguard, hearing that the Prince of Condé was juſt arrived in this village, and would ſpend the night there, propoſed to Marſhal de la Ferté, to go and attack the enemy, who would infallibly be in very great diſorder, becauſe, as that quarter was crowded with veſſels of wine and proviſions of every kind, 'twould be difficult for the Officers to aſſemble their troops, and even for the troopers to mount: the Marſhal, being ſtill angry with the Viſcount, would not agree to this attack, without firſt adviſing with the Cardinal, whoſe approbation, though he were but two leagues off, came too late. The Prince having notice of the Viſcount's approach, gave orders for beating the *general*, and, in order to force the troops to remove the ſooner, he ſet fire to the town. He did not think proper to ſtay longer in this country, when he fouud that the King's army was ſtrong enough both to engage him and to continue the ſiege. When Turenne and la Ferté were certain that the enemy had marched away, they returned before Bar-le-Duc, which was taken in a few days.

An. 1652. The taking of Porcien caſtle and Vervins, and end of the campaign.

The Cardinal being animated by theſe ſucceſſes, and judging it would not be proper to leave ſo formidable an enemy as the Prince of Condé the leaſt reſource for the next year, was for having St. Menehoult and Rethel taken that campaign; but the cold was ſo exceſſive, that there was no attempting it. There was no ſhelter in the wide-extended plains of Champagne for the foot, nor forrage in the neighbourhood for the horſe. The campaign was cloſed with recovering Chateau-Porcien and Vervins: from thence the army marched to Creſſi, on the Serre, and to Laon, whence all the troops were ſent into winter-quarters; after which the Cardinal, the Generals, and the chief Officers ſet out for Paris. Thus ended this long laborious campaign, in which Viſcount de Turenne ſaved the Monarchy ſeveral times by his counſels and his valour. In the mean time his Majeſty's arms were not ſo fortunate abroad as within the Kingdom: In Flanders the Spaniards recovered Gravelin and Dunkirk, in Italy Caſal and in Spain Barcelona. It was a ſufficient advantage for this year, the having forced the Prince of Condé to leave the Kingdom.

Cardinal de Retz is impriſoned.

Not the leaſt ſhadow of the *Fronde* was now to be ſeen in Paris: Cardinal de Retz was the only perſon that would have been capable of giving the Court the leaſt uneaſineſs; but to prevent his creating any freſh troubles, the King had cauſed him to

Decemb. 19. be arreſted in his name at the Louvre in the Queen's anti-chamber, and carried to the Bois de Vincennes, where he was confined, after having employed four years in intrigues, cabals, dark and treacherous actions, over which he often throws a falſe varniſh in his memoirs, denies them ſometimes when he cannot palliate them, and, whenever he does avow them, 'tis merely from that audacious ſpirit in which he gloried.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Viſcount de TURENNE.

BOOK the FOURTH.

THE Viſcount de Turenne, about the beginning of the year 1653, married Charlotte de Caumont, only daughter and heireſs of Armand de Nompar de Caumont Duke de la Force, Peer and Marſhal of France. Her birth and fortune diſtinguiſhed her leſs than her virtues and ſuperior underſtanding; noble elevated ſentiments, with thoſe parts of knowledge that are the leaſt common among the ſex, were in her accompanied with ſweetneſs and modeſty, an inexpreſſible delicacy and ſimplicity of manners: to ſay all in a word, *ſhe was worthy of the Viſcount de Turenne.* An. 1653. The Viſcount marries.

* As the laſt campaign had been long and fatiguing, there was no poſſibility of opening this before the month of June. The French army however took the field before that of the enemy, and laid ſiege to Rhetel. This was a place of great importance, becauſe it not only facilitated the inroads of the Spaniards into Champagne, Picardy,

* All the particulars in this book are taken from the Memoirs of the Duke of York and the Viſcount.

and

An. 1653. and even as far as the gates of Paris, but alſo opened to the Prince of Condé a communication with the towns he poſſeſſed upon the Meuſe, and with the Low Countries, from whence he drew his proviſions. The Marquis de Perſan, whom the Prince had made Governor of it, was a very experienced Officer, but the garriſon was too weak. Turenne overjoy'd at an opportunity of ſignalizing his zeal for the King's ſervice, in a place that had been the theatre of his revolt, marched towards Rhetel before the Prince could throw the leaſt ſuccour into it. The enemy had two ſeparate bodies of troops, one of them was in the Duchy of Luxembourg, and this was to go and join the other on the Sambre. The King's army with all expedition paſſed the river Aiſne, and advanced three leagues beyond Rhetel, to the very ſpot that had been pitched upon for the junction of thoſe two *corps*. Turenne judged that by ſeizing this poſt he ſhould throw the Spaniards into a perplexity, and gain at leaſt eight or nine days, which the Spaniards would loſe in conſidering which of the two bodies ſhould move to join the other, and in executing their determination. Then the Viſcount having deſired Marſhal de la Ferté, who was at Sainte Menehoult, to march at the ſame time with him, returned with a part of his troops by the way of Chateau-Porcien, made himſelf Maſter of Chaumont as he paſſed, and arrived before Rhetel, which he inveſted jointly with la Ferté. It was a deciſive ſtroke; for if the Prince of Condé could have preſerved this place, together with Stenai and Mouſon that were alſo in his poſſeſſion, it would have been impoſſible to cover Picardie, Champagne, or even the Iſle of France. The two Generals vigorouſly attacked the outworks, which were the principal defence of the place, carried them at once, inſtantly raiſed two batteries near the walls, which were not ſtrong, made

made two breaches in them, and forced the town, in which were nine hundred men, to ſurrender in three days. An. 1653.

The Prince of Condé's meaſures being quite broke by the loſs of Rhetel, he prevailed with the Spaniards to make an irruption into France with 30,000 men. The King's troops, commanded by Turenne and la Ferté, did not amount to above 7000 foot and 5000 horſe; and moſt of the towns had either no garriſons, or very weak ones. The Spaniards having aſſembled their forces near la Capelle, entered Picardie; they advanced through the country that lies between the Somme and the Oiſe, took the road to Fonſomme, and there ſtaid ſome days. In the mean while the King's army, which had at firſt marched by Tierache to Vervins, went and encamped at Ribemont on this ſide the Oiſe, where the King and the Cardinal arriving, a council was held upon the beſt means to oppoſe the enemy's progreſs. * Several of the officers were for putting all the infantry into the frontier towns, and keeping cloſe at the heels of the Spaniards with the cavalry, in order to cut off their proviſions, harraſs them in their march, and hinder them from undertaking any ſiege. Others were againſt dividing the army, but thought it would be moſt adviſeable to poſt it at Compiegne, thereby to hinder the enemy from paſſing the Oiſe, and approaching the capital of the Kingdom. The Viſcount, who did not approve of either of theſe opinions, repreſented to the Council, that the army would be too much weakned by being divided, and that as for guarding the paſſes of rivers, the attempt would only expoſe the troops to be forced by an enemy ſuperior in number, that he thought it much ſafer to keep all

* The Duke of York ſays it was in the camp at Ribemont that this council was held; the Viſcount does not mention the place, but only the reſolution that was taken.

the

An. 1653. the army together, draw near the Spaniards, follow them in all their motions, and encamp ſo as never to be conſtrained to fight; that this would hinder them from daring either to ſeparate their troops and undertake ſieges, or to penetrate far into the Kingdom, becauſe they would be continually in fear of having their convoys intercepted. The Viſcount's advice was followed, the army paſſed the Oiſe, and the Court retired to Compiegne.

The marches and countermarches of the two armies.

The Spaniards having broke up their camp, marched in ſight of the French by Ham, and thence to Roye, which having only the burghers to defend it, was taken in two days. Turenne, on his ſide, haſtened to get to the village of Magni, called at preſent Guiſcard, which is in a cloſe covered country, where he had nothing to fear. From thence

Aug. 1. he detached Count Schomberg with 250 horſe, ſome gendarmes and 100 foot, to throw themſelves into Corbie; and at the ſame time ſent 300 men into Peronne. The Spaniards after the taking of Roye were in a great perplexity; they were loth to advance in a country where they had no ſtrong places, and they feared to undertake any ſiege, while an enemy kept ſo near as to be always in a condition to interrupt them. The Prince of Conde, nevertheleſs, marched towards Corbie; and the Viſcount being near Ham underſtood by a letter that was intercepted, that the Count de Mêgue was the next day to leave Cambrai with 3000 horſe, in order to convoy ſome proviſions and ammunition to the Spaniards poſted near Corbie, on this ſide the Somme. The King's army decamped a little before ſun-ſet, paſſed the Somme at Ham, and marched all night with an intention to attack the

Aug. 11. convoy. The cavalry went before, and arrived by day-break near Peronne. Turenne drew thence the 300 foot he had thrown into it, and 300 more which

which the garriſon could ſpare, and marched with 5000 horſe towards Bapaume. He halted two leagues from the town; and then learning that the convoy had returned to Cambrai, he retired with his cavalry to Manancourt, whither the infantry were advanced. The Spaniards diſappointed of their convoy, repaſſed the Somme; the Generals of the King's army having received advice that Condé was throwing bridges over it at Ceriſi, left Manancourt, and to obſerve him the more narrowly came to Aleſne, a village near Peronne, being reſolved nevertheleſs, in caſe he ſhould come to attack them, to return to Manancourt, where they had taken notice of a very advantageous poſt: but while Turenne was ſending to reconnoitre the enemy's motions, their army, which had intercepted the French parties, was coming upon the flank of the wing commanded by Marſhal de la Ferté, which inſtead of returning to Manancourt, had extended itſelf on the ſide of Peronne at the foot of Mount St. Quentin: Turenne arriving repreſented to him the danger of his ſituation, and having exhorted him to follow him, ordered the right wing (which he himſelf commanded) to mount to the top of a hill, and from thence he paſſed to another poſt which ſeemed ſtilled better, whither all the army repaired. An. 1653.

Through a little valley near the village of Buires, runs a rivulet from eaſt to weſt, and falls into the Somme at Peronne: along this brook was a hollow-way, not to be paſſed by the enemy's cavalry without difficulty. At ſome diſtance from the brook is a ſteep hill: at the entrance of the valley, which takes up the ſpace between the rivulet and the hill, the Viſcount planted artillery, and raiſed five redoubts, each of which contained a hundred men. In this narrow place, thus fortified, the troops were drawn up in four or five lines, ſuſtained by The Viſcount encamps near Peronne.

An. 1653. by others that were defended by the ſteep ſide of the hill. The Spaniards having been obliged to fetch a great compaſs, could not come in preſence of the French army before it was in a condition to receive them. The Prince of Condé, nevertheleſs, was for attacking the inſtant he arrived, and he was hardly perſuaded to yield to the reaſons offered by Fuenſaldagne, who remonſtrated to him, that their infantry after a quick march, in exceſſive hot weather, had need of ſome reſt, and that the remainder of the day might be uſefully employed in taking a more exact view of an army which would be as little able to eſcape them the next day as then. The Spaniards paſſed the night under arms; but at ſun riſe their Generals found the French ſo advantageouſly poſted, that they durſt not hazard a battle. The two armies continued three or four days in preſence of each other, and there were ſkirmiſhes almo: without interruption.

The Spaniards leave Picardie.

The ſixteenth of Auguſt the French by day-break heard the *general* beat in the enemy's camp; they immediately drew up in battalia, and Turenne went himſelf with two ſquadrons to obſerve the motions of the Spaniards: He detached one of them commanded by the Duke of York, which approached near enough to their rear guard to diſcover that they were taking the road to St. Quentin. The Viſcount thinking they had ſome deſign upon Guiſe, immediately ſent Beaujeu, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, with twelve hundred horſe and ſix hundred foot to throw themſelves into the place. Beaujeu made ſuch expedition, that he entered the town the moment the Spaniſh cavalry appeared before it to inveſt it. Condé finding himſelf prevented would attempt nothing; but when he had ſtaid ſome days in the neighbourhood of Guiſe, returned by the way he came, and encamped at Caulaincourt near St. Quentin. The King's troops re-

paſſed

paſſed the Somme at Peronne, and marching along that river, kept it between them and the enemy: They afterwards went and encamped at Golancourt, a league from Ham, where they ſtaid fifteen days entire. The Spaniards made frequent incurſions to ſurprize the French, carry off their forragers, and oblige them to decamp, but all in vain. The Prince of Condé therefore having conſulted with the Archduke Leopold, who was come to the army, they reſolved to leave Picardy. An. 1653.

On this occaſion the Viſcount de Turenne having an army much ſuperior in number to contend with, like Fabius Maximus always encamped upon eminences or places difficult of acceſs. Whenever the enemy halted he ſtopt likewiſe, and when the enemy marched he followed them, keeping along the ſide of them at a conſiderable diſtance, and poſting himſelf ſo as that he could not be forced to fight againſt his will. Condé like another Hannibal tried every ſtratagem to force Turenne to an engagement; ſometimes he drew near the French and beat up their quarters, at other times he removed to a great diſtance, that he might induce them to decamp, and ſurprize them in ſome march where he might have an advantage over them. This trial of ſkill laſted ſix weeks. Compariſon of Turenne and Fabius.

Whilſt the Viſcount de Turenne was thus keeping the Prince of Condé in awe in Picardy, the Bourdelois, ſtraitened on all ſides by the Dukes of Vendôme and Candale, who had been ſent into Guienne, aſk'd pardon of the Court and obtain'd it. 20 July. The Princeſs of Condé, the Duke d'Enguien, and the Count de Marſin went from Bourdeaux to Leſparre where they were to embark for Flanders: But the Prince of Conti and the Ducheſs of Longueville having accepted the amneſty, the Prince retired to Pezenas in Languedoc, and the Ducheſs to Montreüil-Bellay, a houſe of her huſband's.

Soon

An. 1653. Soon after the reduction of Bourdeaux, Cardinal Mazarin made propoſals to the Prince of Condé, and offered him, beſides ſeveral other advantages, the Sovereignty of three cities, Stenai, Clermont and Jamets, * The Prince anſwered, that he was content with the Honour of being a Prince of the Blood Royal, and did not aſpire to that of being a Sovereign; that moreover he could not in any inſtance truſt the Cardinal, becauſe the performance of his promiſes depended wholly on its ſquaring with his Politicks. All thoughts of an accommodation being thus at an end, and the Prince ſeeing that he could not enter France by the way of Picardy, made long marches towards Champagne to beſiege Rocroi, the laſt town of that Province on the ſide of Flanders. The Duke of Lorrain came to the ſiege in the beginning of it, but retired ſoon after with his troops, under pretence that the air of the camp was mortal to them; and by this odd ſtep he made the Spaniards begin to diſtruſt him. As Rocroi is ſituated in a plain quite encompaſſed with wood, as it is hard to be relieved when once inveſted, as the garriſon of it was weak, and as a large detachment of Spaniſh horſe was already drawn near it, Turenne let the enemy go on with this ſiege, and went and attacked Mouſon, a town of greater importance to the French than Rocroi was to the Spaniards.

Situation of Mouſon and its fortifications.

† Mouſon ſtands upon the Meuſe between Stenai and Sedan: its walls flanked with round towers were encompaſſed with a dry ditch well paliſaded in the middle: the ſide the fartheſt from the river and commanded by a hill, was fortified with an *envelope* of three or four baſtions: at the head of the bridge on the other ſide the river was a horn-work; and in other parts the place was de-

* Priorato Vol. II. Book III.

† See the particulars of this ſiege in the Duke of York's memoirs.

fended

fended by ſeveral half-moons. Wolf, an old German Colonel of great experience, commanded the garriſon, which conſiſted of 1500 foot and 300 horſe of the troops of Condé. An. 1653.

The King's army paſſed the Oiſe at La Fere, and arrived the ninth of September at Remilli, a league from Mouſon. The next day it paſſed the Meuſe below the town, and the quarters were diſtributed. The Viſcount's cavalry extended themſelves in one line from the river to the top of the hill, out of reach of the canon of the place. He incamped with his infantry and gendarmes in a little valley leſs diſtant; poſted the regiments of York and Guienne in a bottom, more confined and nearer the town, and opened the trenches the ſame night. Marſhal de la Ferté began his approaches at the ſame time: but his troops were poſted farther from the town than thoſe of the Viſcount. * Not to loſe time, they made no line of circumvallation. The little river of Chier cover'd the French army on the ſide of Luxembourg, and hindered the Spaniards from throwing ſuccours into the place. The ſix firſt nights they carried the approaches very forward, on the ſide of the *envelope*, and the baſtions were quickly abandoned by the beſieged. They retired alſo out of the horn-work, as ſoon as it was attacked on this ſide the bridge, but the body of the place made a ſtout defence. The deſcent into the ditch, and the making lodgments there, were very difficult, on account of the fireworks, bombs, and grenadoes, which the enemy ſhowered upon the beſiegers. At length the miners being ſet to the wall, and ſome of the mines ſprung, the Governor capitulated the 28th of September, and with his garriſon, arms, and baggage, was eſcorted to Montmedi. The Viſcount beſieges Mouſon.

* See the particulars of this ſiege in the Duke of York's memoirs.

An. 1653. The ſiege laſted ſeventeen days, during which time the continual rains and violent ſtorms of wind frequently overthrew the *blinds*, made the earth fall in, and drowned the trenches: yet Turenne, with indefatigable diligence, directed the works himſelf, in ſpite of all obſtacles. He marked the place where the trenches ſhould be opened, and he went regularly to viſit them three times in the four and twenty hours; in the morning to ſee whether his orders given the night before had been executed; in the evening to direct what ſhould be done in the night, and a third time pretty late in the night, continuing with the men more or leſs, as his preſence was neceſſary. He conducted himſelf pretty much in the ſame manner at all ſieges, and made his Officers engineers, by his inſtructions and example. The ſame day that Mouſon was taken, the army marched to relieve Rocroi; but when it had got half way thither, received advice that the town was ſurrendered. The remainder of the campaign was ſpent in the ſiege of Sainte Menehoult; ſome troops from Guienne with the French guards and the Swiſs ere ſent thither, while Marſhal de la Ferté kept near the Meuſe, to hinder ſuccours, and the Viſcount covered Picardy, obſerving the motions of the enemy, who did nothing but march and countermarch. The place being taken in the beginning of December, the armies ſeparated, and Turenne returned to Court, where the value of the ſervices he had lately done the State being well known, he was gratified with the Government of Limouſin.

The Viſcount's conduct at ſieges.

The Prince of Condé's treaty with the Spaniards.

Condé, whoſe great projects had failed, through the oppoſition of an army much weaker than his own, went to Bruſſels to conclude a treaty with Spain; the principal article of which was, that all the towns that ſhould be taken in France, ſhould belong to him. When he made his entrance, he was received with the ſame honours that had been paid to the Arch-

Archduke, the Emperor's ſon. Notwithſtanding the Auſtrian pride, and the Majeſty of the Empire, Condé, ſupported only by his courage and reputation, maintained with ſo much dignity the prerogatives of the Bourbon Blood, that he treated with the Archduke, the Emperor's brother, as his equal, and preſerved the rank of the Houſe of France even in Bruſſels itſelf. An. 1653.

The Prince of Conti makes up with the Court.

While the Prince of Condé was thus putting himſelf into the hands of the Spaniards, his brother the Prince of Conti was contriving how to return to Court: Weary of living at Pezenas, he ſounded the diſpoſitions of the Miniſter, and ſignified to him an inclination to make an alliance with his Eminence. Mazarin with joy received a propoſal that did him ſo much honour, and the Prince returning ſpeedily to Paris, married Anne-Marie Martinozzi, daughter of Jerôme Martinozzi a Roman Gentleman, and of Marguerite Mazarin the Cardinal's ſiſter.

The Spaniards put the Duke of Lorrain in priſon.

It was at this very time, that Charles Duke of Lorrain, being diſſatisfied with the treaty concluded between the Spaniards and Condé, demanded that the Prince would either yield him ſome of the places he poſſeſſed in Lorrain, or ſhare with him the conqueſts that ſhould be made in France. Having offered this alternative, he threatened to leave the Spaniards, if they did not grant him one or other of theſe two demands. His threats increaſed the diſtruſts of the Court of Bruſſels to ſuch a degree, that they cauſed him to be ſeized in the Archduke's Palace, and convey'd the next day to the Caſtle of Antwerp. The Duke quite furious with anger, ſent to the Count de Ligneville, who commanded his army, a note concealed in a loaf of bread, which concluded with theſe words, *Quit the Spaniards with all ſpeed; put all to the*

An. 1653. *ſword, burn every thing in your way, and remember Charles of Lorrain* *.

The Count de Ligneville nevertheleſs did not ſtir. Fuenſaldagne went to the Lorrainers quarters, three leagues from Bruſſels, ſpoke to the Officers, diſtributed money among the ſoldiers, who were beginning to murmur, calmed both the one and the other by his diſcourſe and his liberality, and retained them in the ſervice of the King of Spain, promiſing them that Duke Francis of Lorrain, Charles's brother, ſhould come, without delay, and put himſelf at their head. And indeed this Prince, not much concerned for his brother's misfortune, with whom he had quarrelled, did ſoon after come from Germany, and take upon him the command of thoſe troops. As for Charles, he was tranſported into Spain, and there detained priſoner till the peace of the Pyrenees.

An. 1654. The French beſiege Stenai, and the Spaniards Arras.

The King's coronation, which was in ſpring 1654, retarded the opening of the campaign. As ſoon as that ceremony was over, Faber had orders to beſiege Stenai, and Turenne was to hinder the enemy from relieving it. The Prince of Condé, ſtung to the quick at their ſitting down before a town that belonged to him, and having no hopes of being able to ſave it, prevailed with the Archduke to inveſt Arras with an army of 32000 men: what encouraged him to it was the weakneſs of the garriſon. Mondejeu, afterwards Marſhal de Schulemburg †, Governor of Arras, had ſent almoſt all his horſe into a flying camp, commanded by De Bar, who was to cover the neighbouring places and throw himſelf into the firſt that ſhould be threatened. It was not poſſible for De Bar to get

* V. Priorato B. IV.

† He had been page to Frederic Maurice, Duke of Bouillon, the Viſcount's brother; and had learnt his trade under thoſe two great maſters.

back

back again into Arras, ſo that Mondejeu had with him but 2500 foot, and a hundred horſe. Cardinal Mazarin alarm'd at the enterprize of the Spaniards had recourſe to the Viſcount, offering him to conſent to raiſe the ſiege of Stenai, in caſe he thought the troops there employ'd were neceſſary for the relief of Arras. Turenne did not think it adviſable to quit the deſign upon Stenai, and therefore marched towards Arras with the Marſhal de la Ferté, at the head of about 14000 men only. An. 1654.

The Generals ſent three detachments of cavalry before them, to throw themſelves into the place. St. Lieu commanded 400 horſe; * Baron d'Eſquencourt a like number, and le Chevalier, afterwards Marſhal de Crequi 500. They had orders to march by different roads, and at a day's march diſtance one from another. In attempting to paſs by the enemy's camp, the half of their ſquadrons were either taken or forced to return: but they themſelves got into the place with the other half, before the Spaniards had finiſhed their intrenchments. All the Works of the beſiegers were in a condition of defence by the 14th of July, tho' the Workmen had been ſometimes moleſted by the beſieged, who made two or three ſallies with good ſucceſs. The Viſcount throws ſuccours into Arras.

The King's army commanded by Turenne and la Ferté being too weak to venture an engagement in the open field with troops ſo numerous as thoſe of the enemy, waited near Peronne, till the Spaniards had almoſt finiſhed their lines. Beſides, the Viſcount thought it not adviſeable to draw near them, till he had provided for the ſubſiſtence of his troops, ſo that he might not be obliged for the want of proviſions, either to fight or to retire; two things which he judged equally diſadvantageous. From Peronne the army marched ſeven leagues, and encamped the firſt day at Sains, between Cambray and Arras: The Marſhals Turenne and la Ferté march towards Arras, and encamp at Mouchi le Preux.

* Daniel de Montmorenci Baron d'Eſquencourt.

An. 1654. the next day it arrived at Mouchi le Preux, a village which ſtands a league and a half from Arras, upon an eminence that overlooks a valley which the Scarp waters on one ſide, and the Cogeul on the other. The Viſcount went himſelf with ſome horſe and dragoons to view the ground for a camp, and to ſee whether the enemy gave any token of a deſign to attack him. The troops worked all night at the intrenchment, and found themſelves well covered the very next day, and in a very advantageous poſt, the front of which was proportion'd to their number. The river of Cogeul covered their left, and the Scarp at ſomewhat a greater diſtance ran at their right. Turenne took up his quarters at Mouchi, where was the greateſt part of his infantry, the reſt with the cavalry were extended in two lines to the Cogeul. La Ferté had taken up his to the right of the village of Peule, where one part of his infantry encamped, the other was at Mouchi, and his horſe extended themſelves in two lines from the one village to the other. The *Corps de reſerve* was poſted behind the Viſcount's quarter, who by this diſpoſition was in the center. The artillery was planted on the hill of Mouchi, and the enemy could not approach, without being expoſed to the fire of it.

The Viſcount cuts off the communication between the Spaniſh camp, and towns about it.

The Viſcount's deſign was not immediately to attack the enemy in their lines. As he intended to wait the taking of Stenai, that he might reinforce his army with the troops employ'd in that ſiege, he applied himſelf for the preſent, only to cut off all communication between the Spaniſh camp and the neighbouring towns. The French army was ſo poſted, as to hinder any proviſions going to the Spaniards from Douai, Bouchain, or Valenciennes. The Marquis d'Eſpence Beauveau was ſent to the left to prevent any thing coming from Cambrai; orders were ſent to the Count de Broglio, Governor of la Baſſee,

Baſſee, to poſt himſelf on the right at Lens with 1500 or 2000 men drawn from the garriſons thereabouts, in order to cut off the communication with Lille. * The Count de l'Iſle-bonne went with 1200 horſe to Perne, to block up the way from Air and St. Omer. The Spaniſh army thus ſtraitned on all ſides, could receive but ſmall convoys, and the troopers were obliged to carry what ammunition and proviſions they got behind them. It is probable that the Spaniards would have been obliged to raiſe the ſiege, if the French could have poſſeſs'd themſelves of St. Pol, the only paſſage remaining open. But the Governor of Hedin, who had been ordered upon that enterprize, excuſed himſelf, by alledging the weakneſs of his garriſon; and through certain unforeſeen accidents, ſome attempts that were made ſoon after, proved unſucceſsful. An. 1654.

The trenches were opened the 14th, and the beſieged diſputed every inch of ground with incredible courage. At a month's end the Spaniards, with the loſs of near 2000 men, had only taken a hornwork, which it was neceſſary to be maſters of before they could get to the counterſcarp of the half-moon, which was before the ditch. During all this time Mondejeu was continually ſending meſſengers to acquaint the Generals with the condition of the place. The Spaniards preſs the ſiege.

Turenne and la Ferté obſerving the ſiege of Stenai to go on but ſlowly, and that of Arras to advance, notwithſtanding the ſtout reſiſtance of the beſieged, reſolved at length to attack the enemy's lines: but juſt then receiving intelligence that Stenai was capitulating, and that the troops which had beſieged it were marching to join them, they

* Francois de Lorrain, Comte de l'Iſle-bonne, ſon of Charles de Lorrain, the ſecond of the Name, Duke d'Elbeuf, and of Catharine Henriette legitimated daughter of Henry IV.

An. 1654. judged it proper to wait their coming. Two days before the arrival of this reinforcement, Turenne, accompanied by the Duke of York, the Duke of Joyeuſe *, and ſeveral young Noblemen, officers or volunteers, went with a ſquadron of guards to reconnoitre the Spaniſh lines on the ſide of the Prince of Condé's quarters; the Prince from an eminence, where he then was, detached the Duke of Wirtemberg with the regiment of Eſtrées to ſurround them, ſo that they were obliged to retire, and the Duke of Joyeuſe received a carabine ſhot in his arm, of which he died ſome little time after, at Paris: Turenne returned to his camp, having diſcovered that the lines were too ſtrong and too well guarded on the ſide of the Prince of Condé, to hazard the intended general attack on that quarter.

The Marſhals Turenne and d'Hocquincourt join and ſeize St. Pol and mount St. Eloi.

Marſhal d'Hocquincourt, who after the ſurrender of Stenai had taken upon him the command of the troops, marched with expedition, paſſed the Somme, and arrived near Bapaume; advancing thence with his cavalry, he was join'd by Turenne, who came to meet him with fifteen ſquadrons. Receiving advice in that inſtant, that a large convoy was coming to the enemy by the way of St. Pol, they marched ſtrait to intercept it; but the Marquis de Boutteville, afterwards Marſhal de Luxembourg, who commanded the eſcort of the convoy, getting notice of their deſign, carried it into Aire. The two Generals finding themſelves near St. Pol, thought it highly expedient to ſeize that important poſt; the garriſon made but a poor defence, and ſurrendered priſoners of war. The next day, as they returned towards the army, they attacked the Abbey of Mount St. Eloi, a ſhort league from the enemy's camp, and obliged 500 men there poſted to ſurrender at

* Louis de Lorrain, Duke of Joyeuſe, high Chamberlain of France, and Colonel General of the cavalry, ſon of Charles de Lorrain Duke of Guiſe, and heireſs of Joyeuſe.

diſcre-

diſcretion. They afterwards ſeparated; la Ferté went and pitched in a place call'd Cæſar's Camp, and the Viſcount in his return to Mouchi le Preux, took a view of the enemy's lines on the north ſide; he marched ſtrait towards them from Mount St. Eloi, approached them within half a canon ſhot, and ſkirted along them at the ſame diſtance for two whole hours, An. 1654.

The Spaniards, whoſe lines of circumvallation were twelve foot broad and ten deep, with an advance-ditch, nine foot in breadth, and ſix in depth, had built redoubts and little forts at certain diſtances, planted artillery in all parts, and raiſed *Epaulments* to cover themſelves from the canon. In the ſpace between the circumvallation and its advance-ditch, they had dug twelve rows of holes or little wells four foot deep, and a foot and a half over, diſpoſed chequer-wiſe, and in the intervals they had fixed palliſades a foot and a half high to ſtop and hamper the horſes. In ſhort, they had fortified their camp with all kinds of works, even ſuch as were leaſt in uſe. In theſe lines of a wide circumference, the Spaniſh quarter commanded by the Count de Fuenſaldagne was to the north, on the ſide of the road to Lens: The Prince of Condé at the head of the French, and the Duke of Wirtemberg with his troops, were poſted to the ſouth: the quarter where the Archduke was lodged with the German and Flemiſh forces reached on the eaſt, from Courtrai-road to the Scarp: Dom Fernand de Solis with the Italians, and Prince Francois de Lorrain with his troops extended themſelves on the weſt from Perne to the ſouth. Deſcription of the Spaniſh lines.

While the Viſcount was ſkirting along pretty near the quarter of Dom Fernand de Solis, the canon of the Spaniards killed ſeveral of his ſoldiers. Some of the officers apprehending a yet greater miſchief, could not forbear murmuring, and even repreſenting The Viſcount takes a view of the lines.

ing

An. 1654. ing to the Viſcount, that by going ſo near, he expoſed the whole body of the troops that were with him to an unavoidable defeat, in caſe the enemy ſhould ſally out of their lines and attack it. The Viſcount confeſſed, that he would not have ventured to do on the Prince of Condé's ſide, what he did on the ſide of the Spaniards quarters, but that he was ſo well acquainted with their exceſſive caution, as to be very ſure that Dom Fernand would not undertake any thing, till he had firſt ſent for orders to the Count de Fuenſaldagne the Spaniſh Generaliſſimo; that the Count would go himſelf to ſpeak of the matter to the Archduke; that the Archduke would not fail to invite the Prince of Condé to a Council, and that while all theſe were conſulting one another, he ſhould have time enough to reconnoitre the lines, and to retire *. Every thing happened juſt as he had foreſeen, and the Spaniards came to no concluſion to attack till it was too late.

La Ferté is againſt attacking the lines.

The Governor of Arras, ſoon after, ſent word to the French Generals, that he had but a ſmall quantity of powder left, and that if he were not ſpeedily relieved, he ſhould be forced to capitulate. At the ſame time the Marquis de Boutteville leaving Aire with the convoy, marched by the Douay-road and entered the lines at the head of his cavalry, through the fault of an officer who neglected to give notice of it. This news ought to have haſtened the attack of the lines: it is nevertheleſs probable, that had it not been for the Viſcount's reſolution, it would never have been done. The Duke of York and the Count de Broglio join'd with him in opinion; but the greateſt part of the other Generals, from motives of private intereſt, repreſented this enterprize as very raſh. Marſhal d'Hocquincourt and his officers propoſed the making only a ſlight attempt, juſt ſufficient to ſave the honour of the French army. La Ferté ſent a trum-

* Theſe particulars are copied from the Duke of York's Memoirs.

pet,

pet, who ruſhing boldly into Turenne's tent, while he was at table with ſeveral officers, had the aſſurance in his preſence to make ſuch a deſcription of the lines as was enough to intimidate thoſe that heard him. But theſe things ſerved only to confirm the Viſcount in his determination: he repreſented to the Generals, that ſuch a trial as was propoſed, inſtead of ſaving their reputation, would have a quite contrary effect; that they would be juſtly cenſured for having ſacrificed the ſoldiers to no purpoſe; that by going heartily to work with ſeveral battalions in a front they would certainly find ſome part weaker than the reſt, by which thoſe who ſhould be repulſed elſewhere might enter; that in caſe the attack was made in the night, the troops in no one of the enemy's quarters would dare to quit their poſt, in order to ſuccour thoſe in another, before daylight, becauſe they would be in pain for themſelves; or if they did give any aſſiſtance, it would be only to thoſe the neareſt to them. He took every occaſion to diſcourſe with the officers of the manner in which the attack ſhould be made, of the difficulties they would have to ſtruggle with, and the expedients neceſſary to ſurmount them. He recommended to them above all things to keep the ſoldiers together and in good order, when they ſhould have got within the lines, for fear of their ſtraying in the dark; to obſerve an exact diſcipline as they advanced, not ſuffering the men to leave their ranks for the ſake of plundering.; and laſtly, not to go ſtrait to the town, but to march along the line, and drive their enemies quite out of it before they ſuccoured their friends †. An. 1654.

The Court which was then at Peronne, ſent an order for attacking; the day fixed was the 24th of Auguſt, the eve of St. Louis. It was reſolved to make the chief puſh at Dom Fernand de Solis's quarter, and

The Court ſends an order to attack the lines, and the army marches thither.

† Duke of York's Memoirs.

An. 1654. and that part of Fuenſaldagne's which was neareſt to it, theſe places being the weakeſt, and the fartheſt from the Prince of Condé; and to have at the ſame time three falſe attacks, one on the ſide of Condé, a ſecond on the further part of Fuenſaldagne's quarter, and the third at that of Duke Francis of Lorrain. The ſoldiers provided themſelves with faſcines, hurdles, and all the tools neceſſary for ſuch an enterprize; publick prayers were offered at the head of each battalion and each ſquadron; at ſun-ſet the armies began to croſs the Scarp over four bridges; no troops were left to guard the baggage, becauſe it was to follow, immediately after ſunriſe; the pioneers advanced at the head of each battalion; each trooper carried before him two faſcines, and the muſketeers carefully concealed their lighted matches. The march was made in ſilence, and with ſo much order and exactneſs, that they arrived preciſely at the place and time appointed for joining the troops of Hocquincourt, but the latter were not yet come. The moon which had ſhined till then, went down; the weather grew cloudy, and a wind riſing and blowing from the enemies camp hindred them from hearing any noiſe. Turenne and la Ferté, without waiting for Hocquincourt, made their troops turn to the left, and march with a wide front ſtrait to the lines, from which they were about half a league diſtant.

Diſpoſition of the attacks.

Turenne divided the eight Lieutenant Generals who commanded under him, equally between the horſe and foot; the Count de Broglio headed the regiments of Picardy and Swiſs guards on the right; Du Paſſage the battalions of La Feuillade in the center, and the Count de Caſtelnau thoſe of Du Pleſſis and Turenne on the left. The cavalry which was to ſuſtain them amounted to four and twenty ſquadrons. De Bar was in the right wing, the Duke of York in the left, and Eclinvilliers in the center.

Roncherolles

Roncherolles commanded a body of reſerve of three battalions of foot, and the Count de l'Iſlebonne another of horſe. La Ferté who was poſted on the left of Turenne over againſt the confines of the quarters of Dom Fernand and Fuenſaldagne, had a line conſiſting of ſix battalions, two lines of horſe behind it, and ſeveral ſquadrons of reſerve. The right was left for Marſhal d'Hocquincourt, who was to have a front of four battalions ſupported by a line of horſe, and then a ſecond line of foot and ſome ſquadrons. An. 1654.

The atttack of the lines.

Two hundred paces from the lines, the wind quickening the fire of the matches, and the glow being the brighter for the darkneſs of the night, they were all on a ſudden diſcovered, and made a kind of illumination, which gave the enemy the firſt alarm; inſtantly they fired three canon, and lighted up their lanthorns all along the circumvallation. In the mean time the infantry of Turenne's firſt line paſſed the advance-ditch, covered the little wells, tore down the palliſades, and finding leſs reſiſtance than they had at firſt apprehended, went on to the ſecond ditch: ſome of them paſſed it even before it was filled up, and Fifica, a Captain in Turenne's regiment, planted the colours of his company on the parapet, crying out *vive Turenne* *. This was no more than was neceſſary to encourage the reſt of the battalions, who being ſtill full of diffidence, durſt not approach: but then all taking courage equally, the five battalions broke through the ſeveral places, and made a way for the cavalry. La Ferte's attack had not been ſo fortunate; the greateſt part of his ſoldiers could not puſh to the ſecond ditch, they were vigorouſly repulſed by the Spaniards, nor were they able afterwards to enter the lines but by the help of Turenne's troops. D'Hocquincourt not arriving till towards morning, found the enemy in a

* MSS. of the Abbé Raguenet.

conſter-

An. 1654. conſternation, and therefore eaſily made his way through Dom Fernand's quarter into that of Duke Francis of Lorrain. The Italians and Lorrainers being forced in all poſts, forſook their intrenchments, carrying diſorder and terror into the other quarters. The day was beginning to break, when Condé alone, having croſs'd through the Archduke's quarter and adviſed him to think of a retreat, marched with what cavalry he could get together to ſtop the fury of the French. He fell firſt upon thoſe who were buſied in plundering, then beat la Ferté, who inconſiderately came down from an eminence; but he durſt not puſh him, becauſe he perceived a body of troops that had taken poſſeſſion of the poſt which the Marſhal had quitted, and he retired to a neighbouring hill, with an intention as ſoon as his infantry ſhould join him, to go and attack thoſe troops he ſaw upon the eminence. Turenne (for it was he) had there aſſembled all the troops he could, and cauſed ſome canon to be brought thither; the fire of this artillery ſtopt the battalions which Condé would have march'd againſt him, and ſo diſcouraged them, that in ſpight of all the Prince could do, he was obliged to deſiſt; and the more, that, at the ſame time, Caſtelnau, who had entered Arras, ſallied out from thence with Mondejeu and all the cavalry of the place *.

Condé quits the lines.

Condé and Turenne, without being told it, gueſs'd each of them where the other was. By the prudent conduct ſhown in not puſhing la Ferté too far, the Viſcount judged that Condé commanded the troops which had beaten him; and the Prince did not doubt but it was Turenne who had poſted himſelf upon the eminence before mentioned, and durſt not attack him. The Viſcount ſatisfy'd with having forced the Prince to quit his poſt, did not think proper to purſue him. The Marquis de Bellefond having leſs

* The Life of Condé.

diſcretion,

diſcretion, attacked the Prince's rear-guard in its paſ- An. 1654.
ſage over the Scarp, but was ſo warmly receiv'd, as to be forced to retire with loſs. Condé croſs'd the river, quitted his intrenchments, rallied his ſcattered troops, and marched them in good order to Cambrai. The other Generals of the enemy followed his example as well as they could. The Archduke and the Count de Fuenſaldagne made their eſcape with only one ſquadron or two, by the road to Douai, through the baggage of the French army. Leopold was known, and would have been taken priſoner, had any troops been left in the camp of Mouchi le Preux.

Marſhal d'Hocquincourt, who had entered the lines with his horſe, had found no obſtacle in his way, till he came to the brook that divided the Lorrainers quarter from that of Condé: but he had there met with the Count de Marſin at the head of ſeveral ſquadrons, who defended the paſſage ſo well, that the greater part of the infantry of that quarter had time to eſcape. Marſin retired in good order, quitted the lines, and joined the Prince of Condé at the time that he was rallying the troops. Marſin does the ſame.

Thoſe who commanded the two falſe attacks made by the troops of la Ferté and Hocquincourt followed their orders exactly, and ſucceeded in what they undertook; and the ſoldiers enriched themſelves with the booty they found in the quarters of the Spaniards and Lorrainers. Traci, who commanded the third falſe attack that was to be made by the troops of Turenne, was not ſo fortunate; he had marched towards the quarters of the Prince of Condé, which were directly oppoſite to thoſe of Dom Fernand, and ſtaid in a bottom purſuant to his orders, waiting till the general attack ſhould begin; but the diſtance and the wind having hindered him from hearing the noiſe of what paſs'd in the camp, he learnt nothing of it till day-break, when he ſaw the enemy retiring. The What paſſed at the falſe attacks.

An. 1654. The loſs was very inconſiderable in the King's army; Turenne had a contuſion by a muſket ball; the Count de Broglio's thigh was broke by another; very few of the ſubalterns were kill'd, and not above three or four hundred of the ſoldiers. The enemy loſt near 3000 men kill'd or taken priſoners; 63 pieces of canon, 2000 waggons, 9000 horſes, all the equipage of the officers, and the baggage of the whole army.

The loſs ſuſtained by the Spaniards.

The Viſcount's moderation.

It was during this ſiege that la Ferté having found a ſoldier of the Viſcount's guards without the camp, aſked him how he durſt go out of the lines; and without waiting for an anſwer went up to him, and beat him ſeverely. The Viſcount, when the ſoldier came and preſented himſelf all bloody, ſaid to him, *You muſt certainly have been extremely in fault, ſince you could provoke the Marſhal to treat you in this manner*; and inſtantly ordered the Lieutenant of his guards to take him back to the Marſhal with this compliment, "that he was very much concern'd that "the man ſhould have fail'd in his reſpect to him, "and that he delivered him up into his hands to "puniſh him as he thought proper." The whole army was aſtoniſhed; and the Marſhal being himſelf ſurpriz'd cried out: *What, is this man to be always wiſe, and I always a fool?*

Turenne remains ſole Commander in chief of the army.

The news of the ſiege being rais'd, was ſpread far and wide, and excited the admiration of all who heard of it. Several of the Princes of Germany, and the moſt eminent Generals in Europe, wrote to the Viſcount to congratulate him, particularly the Landgrave of Heſſe *. The Duke of York, after the action, was ſent with 2000 horſe to Peronne, where the Court then reſided, to eſcort it to Arras: it ſtay'd there ſome days, the army incamping in the enemy's lines, where they found abundance of forage. The laſt day of Auguſt the French marched towards

* See the authorities, No. VIII.

Cambrai: the Court returning to Peronne. La Ferté and d'Hocquincourt followed the King, ſo that the Viſcount remained alone at the head of the army. An. 1654.

The ſixth of September the Viſcount marched towards Quênoi, and made himſelf maſter of it the next day, the garriſon being weak, and the Spaniards having demoliſhed the out-works. He gave orders for rebuilding the old fortifications, and making new ones, and then laid ſiege to Binches, and carried it: he ſtaid there till the 22d, and then returned to Quênoi, to ſtore the magazins. In theſe marches and counter-marches he gave the Lieutenant Generals more employment than uſual, in order to prevent any ſurprize from the Spaniards, who had reaſſembled the remains of their army under the canon of Mons, to cover Bruſſels. There were three Lieutenant Generals upon duty; one marched with the cavalry of the van, another with the infantry, and the third headed the cavalry of the rear: he ordered them, when they came to any brook to make the cavalry paſs at the right and left, with the infantry in the middle; the baggage ſet out at day-break, eſcorted by ſix or eight ſquadrons; the vanguard followed with the heavy canon, and the reſt of the artillery was in the rear-guard. The army marched in ſuch a manner, that it could at any time draw up in battalia without confuſion. When it came to any defile the rear-guard faced about with the field-pieces, while the van went forward; when the van was paſs'd, this alſo faced about, leaving a ſufficient ſpace for the troops that were following to range themſelves in battle: this order was obſerved, till the whole army had paſſed the defile; then it moved all together, and continued its march. The Viſcount took all theſe precautions, becauſe he apprehended he ſhould be attacked: and in reality the Prince of Condé d'd draw

The Viſcount takes Quênoi and Binches.

An. 1654. near him at the head of forty ſquadrons, and followed him a long time within reach of canon-ſhot, to a paſs near Maubeuge: but ſeeing the quickneſs with which the French troops faced about, and the good order they obſerved, he returned the way he came without haraſſing them. Turenne ſtaid at Quênoi to the end of September, then marched towards Cambreſis, and ſtaid a few weeks on the frontier: after which, having taken and demoliſhed ſome caſtles thereabouts, he ſent away his troops into their quarters, and went himſelf to Paris, where his preſence was like to be neceſſary.

Cardinal de Retz eſcapes out of priſon, and goes into Italy.

The civil feuds were going to be rekindled by the intrigues of Cardinal de Retz, had not an accident put a ſtop to it. The Coadjutor, who had been removed from the Caſtle of Vincennes to that of Nantes, having found means to eſcape out of priſon, took poſt in order to get ſpeedily to Paris, ſhew himſelf to the people in the publick market, and make new barricades; but as he was galloping along the ſuburbs of Nantes, having cocked his piſtol to fire at one of the guards that purſued him, his horſe ſtarted, fell and threw him; his ſhoulder being put out of joint by the fall, he could not continue his journey, and hid himſelf in a hay-ſtack. The Gentlemen of the neighbourhood riſing in his favour, he eſcaped to Belle-Iſle, changed his dreſs, got into a fiſh-boat, landed at St. Sebaſtian in Spain, and from thence went to Rome, where Pope Innocent X. received him with marks of joy and diſtinction.

An. 1655. The Viſcount prevents new diſſenſions. 20 March.

* Retz's flight to ſuch a diſtance, was the more lucky for the Court, as during the winter the troubles were like to have been revived on occaſion of a new coinage. Louis XIV. appeared on his Throne of juſtice in the Parliament, and cauſed the edict for it to be regiſtred; but ſoon after the ſeveral

* Mem. de Monglat for this year.

Chambers

Chambers aſſembled to examine this edict, and deliberate on the receiving of it, pretending that the King's preſence had deprived them of the freedom of ſuffrage. The remembrance of the paſt giving cauſe to apprehend the ill conſequences of theſe deliberations, the King went one morning to the * *Palais*, attended by all the Court, and ſeating himſelf on his Throne, without any preamble forbad the Parliament to concern itſelf in publick affairs, and then riſing haſtily went out, being determined not to hear any remonſtrance. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, the Parliament continued to aſſemble, and the minds of the members grew every day more and more ſowr'd. The Cardinal in this exigence had recourſe to the Viſcount's prudence, who had acquired a high reputation in the Councils, as well as in the army. Turenne went to the *Firſt Preſident*, laid before him, in an affecting manner, all the horrors of civil war, and made him ſenſible, that as the fire of diſcord was not yet quite extinguiſhed, the ſmalleſt breath was ſufficient to put all again into a blaze.

An. 1655.

13 April.

* The place where the Parliament aſſembles.

In the month of June the King went to La Fere, where he waited his army's entring Hainault, to undertake ſome important ſiege. To preſerve Quênoi it was neceſſary to have Landrecies: theſe two towns opened the French a way into the Spaniſh Low Countries. Turenne's army and that of La Ferté having joined near Guiſe, they marched together towards Landrecies, and inveſted it the eighteenth of June. Such diligence was uſed in working at the circumvallation, that it was finiſhed in five days, and the camp was ſtored with proviſions for a month. The Prince of Condé, who had the principal direction of the Flemiſh troops, came and poſted himſelf at Vadencourt, near Guiſe, to hinder proviſions going to the beſiegers, and ſent out parties to make depredations in Picardy:

The Viſcount takes Landrecies.

An. 1655. but as he did not come to this poſt till the ſeventh day after the town was inveſted, all his endeavours proved fruitleſs. Turenne continued the ſiege; and the taking of Landrecies paved the way for all the ſucceſſes that followed till the peace of the Pyrenees. * The detachments which the Prince ſent into Picardy, as far as Ribemont, alarmed the Court very much. The King had with him only two companies of the regiment of guards, and the Spaniards might eaſily have carried him off; but they miſſed this occaſion for want of foreſight: the young
1 July. King quitted La Fere in haſte, and retired to Laon. In the mean time the trenches were opened before Landrecies; there were two approaches, Turenne's and La Ferté's. They carried on the works with ſo much vigilance, and ſo little loſs, that the ſeventeenth day the mines were ſprung under two baſtions of the place; that on the Viſcount's ſide making the greateſt breach. The Governor obtained an honourable capitulation, and the garriſon was eſcorted to Valenciennes.

The Viſcount paſſes the Haîne and the Scheld to attack the Spaniards.

The army of the beſiegers continued ſome days at Landrecies, to level the lines, and repair the breaches, and the Spaniards retired between Mons and Valenciennes behind the Sambre and Scheld, not thinking themſelves in a condition to hazard a battle. Far from being able to make a new irruption into France, they were reduced to confine their views to the watching of the Viſcount's motions, and the hindring him from undertaking any other ſiege. The King joined the army at Guiſe, put himſelf at the head of his troops, and marched along the Sambre, down as far as Thuin, a town belonging to the biſhoprick of Liege. He then croſſed that river, advanced to Bavai, and intended to enter into the heart of the country by paſſing the Haîne, which runs through the middle of Hainault, and gave it

* Monglat, Mem. of this year, p. 84.

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its name. Upon viewing the paſſages it was found that the enemy had thrown up ſtrong intrenchments, and at certain diſtances raiſed redoubts and platforms all along the ſtream from St. Guiſlain to Condé. The difficulty of forcing theſe works was increaſed by the difficulty of approaching the river in a country full of ditches, and eaſily laid under water, and where there was but one cauſey, which led to the bridge of the Haîne. A council was held, the King preſent; Cardinal Mazarin, the Duke of York, the Marſhals Turenne, la Ferté, Villeroi, Gramont, and Pleſſis-Praſlin aſſiſted at it. The miniſter having with eloquence ſet forth how glorious it would be to paſs the river in preſence of a formidable army, they were going to reſolve upon forcing the bridge; but the Viſcount oppoſed it, ſhow'd the difficulties that would attend it, and propoſed a ſafer expedient. As he was well acquainted with the country, he repreſented to them, that by croſſing the Scheld a little below Bouchain, leaving Valenciennes on the right, and repaſſing the ſame river at Condé, they would be able to come upon the enemy in flank, render all their intrenchments uſeleſs, and without hazarding the lives of the King's ſoldiers, oblige the Spaniards to quit their poſt. The Cardinal and all the Generals coming over to his opinion, the army marched from Bavai to Bouchain; of which when the enemy had notice, they decamped to draw near Valenciennes. The Prince of Condé at firſt oppoſed this march, but finding that he could not ſtop the Spaniſh Generals, he proteſted that he would not leave his poſt upon the Haîne, if they did not promiſe him to make a vigorous defence upon the Scheld. They promiſed, and then paſſing the river at Valenciennes, went and encamped near St. Amand in an advantageous poſt, having the town on their left, woods on their right, and before them an old line that had been

An. 1655.

An. 1655. left on mount Azin. The King's army continued its march to Neuville, where it paſſed the Scheld; and leaving there ſome troops to ſecure the baggage againſt any incurſions of the garriſon of Bouchain, advanced to meet the enemy. When Turenne was got within a league of their camp, he halted to wait for the coming up of his artillery, and went in perſon to view their ſituation. Upon examining the poſt they were in, he judged that they would certainly defend it, and therefore ordered Caſtelnau to go with all diligence with his flying camp, conſiſting of twelve ſquadrons and three battalions, and place himſelf on the right of the enemy towards the high road to St. Amand, and endeavour to attack them in flank, while he attacked them in front. Scarce was Caſtelnau arrived at the place appointed, when he perceived the Spaniards retiring towards Condé: he gave notice of it to the Viſcount, who inſtantly ſent him word to fall upon their rear, that ſo he might have time to come up with the body of the army. The Arch-duke, and the Count de Fuenſaldagne were no ſooner informed that Marſhal Turenne had paſſed the Scheld, and was marching towards them, but they repented of the promiſes they had made the Prince of Condé, and left their new poſt, without conſulting him. The Prince had the firſt notice of it by an Aid de Camp, who came to tell him that the Arch-duke was retiring, and begged him to cover the retreat, tho' it was the Spaniards turn that day to make the rear-guard. Thus during the whole courſe of this war, the dilatorineſs or precipitation, the timidity or want of skill in the Spaniſh Generals diſconcerted the Prince of Condé's meaſures.

Caſtelnau's miſtake.

The Prince would have been reduced to great extremities, had Caſtelnau followed the inſtructions he receiv'd; but inſtead of attacking the enemy whom he came up with at the bridge of Beuvrage, he let himſelf be amuſed by ſome of the Prince of Condé's officers;

officers; they deſired to ſpeak with him; he conſented and halted for ſome time; and while they were complimenting one another, the Prince of Condé quicken'd his march, and Caſtelnau was cheated by his own politeneſs. The enemy gain'd the Scheld, croſſed it, drew up in battalia on the other ſide, broke down the bridges, and the ſame day went to Tournai. An. 1655.

The Viſcount came up ſoon after, and Caſtelnau gave him an ingenuous relation of what had happened; and Colonel St. Lieu aſſured him, that the bridges having been broken down in a little too much hurry, the hindmoſt ſquadrons of the Prince had paſſed the river by ſwimming. The French army encamped at Frane near Condé, and Turenne that very night wrote to the Cardinal, who was with the Court at Quênoi, giving an account of all that had paſs'd. This letter was intercepted, and the Prince of Condé was extremely offended * at the contents of it. The Viſcount however had hardly once ſpoke of himſelf in it; nor had he dwelt on the falſe ſteps the Spaniards had taken in coming to meet him, and then retiring contrary to all the rules of war; nor on the confuſion in which they had quitted the moſt advantageous poſt in the world, and all the rivers; and this with an army, which had they not weakened it by conceiving a jealouſy of their towns without reaſon, was no ways inferior to that of the King; he had mentioned thoſe faults as committed contrary to the Prince of Condé's advice; and he had enlarged only on the perplexity the Spaniards had thrown the Prince into, by obliging him to cover the retreat that day; adding, that had it not been for Caſtelnau's miſtake, he ſhould have fallen on the Prince's rear-guard, ſome ſquadrons of which had been obliged to ſwim over the Scheld.

Perſonal quarrel between the Viſcount and the Prince of Condé.

* See the Viſcount's Memoirs, p. 139 and 140.

An. 1655. The Prince nevertheleſs took great offence at the relation, and ſent a trumpet to the Viſcount with a very ſharp letter; wherein, among other harſh things, were theſe words, *Had you been in the van of your army, whilſt I was in the rear of mine, you would have ſeen things better, and not have given accounts ſo remote from the truth.* The Prince ſent alſo to a great many officers of the King's army a kind of manifeſto, in which he juſtified his conduct, and complain'd bitterly of the Viſcount; and he ſignified to M. de la Ferté, that Turenne did not ſpeak handſomely of him in his relation.

Turenne received the Prince's letter in preſence of a great many of his officers, to whom he immediately ſhowed it; not thinking himſelf obliged to anſwer it, he only told the trumpet, *That he ſhould be puniſhed if he brought him any more ſuch letters.* From this time thoſe two Generals did not treat one another with the ſame regard as hitherto, nor were they fully reconciled till the peace of the Pyrenees.

Condé and St. Guiſlain taken.

The next day the French wrought on ſome bridges above the town of Condé, with a view to beſiege it. Its walls were not much better than the lines of a camp: but the ſtrength of the garriſon made amends for the weakneſs of the ramparts. One half of the army was employed in the ſiege, while Turenne and la Ferté covered it with the other half. The firſt night the beſiegers met with ſo much reſiſtance, that the two Marſhals were obliged to come in perſon to carry on one of the approaches. But the attacks were continued with ſuch vigour, that the town ſurrendered the third day after opening the trenches, and the garriſon conſiſting of 2000 men, was eſcorted to the neareſt town poſſeſs'd by the enemy. As the King's army was far advanced within their country, and as the Spaniards knew not what it would undertake next, they threw troops into all their towns, thereby weakened their army, and

and durſt not approach in a body. That which commonly happens after a ſeries of bad ſucceſs, happened to them; they fear'd more than they needed to do, and took precautions even againſt impoſſibilities. After the taking of Condé, the King's army marched ſtrait to St. Guiſlain, ſituate in a very flat country, and watered by the river Haîne. The enemy flooded the country ſo, that there was no poſſibility of digging to make a circumvallation: the approaches were carried on by blinds made of faſcines: this however did not hinder the place from being taken in three days, with very little loſs on the French ſide. Turenne having put more than 4000 men into the conquer'd towns, repaired and finiſhed the fortifications of Condé and St. Guiſlain, ſtored the magazines with all ſorts of proviſions, conſumed the forage in the country all round, he marched the 12th of October to Barlaimont, the 22d to the Abbey of Marolles, and about the beginning of November to Ribemont. There he received orders to quit the army, and repair to the Court at Compiegne, on account of an important affair. An. 1655. 12 October. 22d ditto.

Marſhal d'Hocquincourt much offended with the Cardinal, who had taken from him the command of the army, and had ſcarce employ'd him at all ſince the ſiege of Etampes, and being fallen in love with a Lady of the firſt Quality, who rouzed his reſentments, let himſelf be drawn into the party of the Spaniards, upon the offers the Prince of Condé made him of the ſum of 400000 crowns, and the poſt of Lieutenant General of Flanders, if he would give up Ham and Peronne, of which places he was Governor. Turenne when he arrived at Compiegne, conſulted with the Cardinal upon the proper meaſures to hinder the Marſhal from bringing the enemy into thoſe two important places. The Cardinal inclined to have the army draw near Peronne; but the Viſcount repreſented to him, that ſuch a motion

Marſhal d'Hocquincourt's treaſonable deſign diſconcerted by the Viſcount.

An. 1655. motion might provoke d'Hocquincourt to take ſome haſty ſtep, and adviſ'd to try an accommodation. The negotiation laſted fifteen days, during which d'Hocquincourt gave ſeparate audiences to the King's Envoys, and thoſe of Spain, not concealing from either party what the other offered him, as if it had been free for him to make what choice he pleaſed. Mazarin was mortally uneaſy to ſee the Court reduced to come to a treaty with a ſubject who ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion: but the Spaniſh army was advanced as far as Cambrai; the Prince of Condé with his troops was but two leagues from Peronne, and his party was beginning to get new life in Paris: ſhould the Prince become maſter of the two towns in queſtion, the civil broils would perhaps be renewed; and the King far from continuing his conqueſts in the Low Countries, would be obliged to bring back the war into the heart of the Kingdom: ſo critical a ſituation required a great deal of temporiſing. Turenne, like another Fabius, ſaved his country by this method, diſpoſed Mazarin to finiſh without violence an affair, which had he employed force, might have had fatal conſequences. In ſhort, the treaty was concluded: Marſhal d'Hocquincourt left Peronne, reſign'd his Government in favour of his ſon, and retired home with 200000 crowns. The Prince of Condé returned without delay to join the Spaniſh army upon the Sambre, and as it was apprehended, that he might attack Condé or St. Guiſlain in his retreat, the Viſcount returned to the army, and advanced with it as far as St. Quentin: but the Prince not undertaking any thing, the King and the Cardinal went to Paris about the beginning of December, and the Viſcount followed them as ſoon as he had ſent his army into winter quarters. It was then, that by the advice of Turenne the cavalry were quarter'd in the villages, and had their pay aſſign'd them on the land tax, at the rate of twenty pence

pence a day each trooper: by this means the expence of remittances was ſaved, and all deficiencies were prevented; the troops cauſed themſelves to be paid upon the ſpot; the troopers diſperſed up and down in the villages, ſerved them for ſafeguards, and expended there a good part of their pay; the peaſants followed their huſbandry with more ſecurity; and contrary to the common opinion a great many villages got again into a good condition, by this new method of quartering the troops. An. 1655.

When all the troops were in quarters, Duke Francis of Lorrain finding that there was no talk of ſetting his brother at liberty, and that all the officers of his army murmured againſt the King of Spain for keeping their maſter priſoner, got all the Lorrainers together into one *Corps*, and marched towards the frontiers of Picardy; from whence he ſignified, that he was coming to put himſelf in the King's ſervice. Louis XIV treated with him on the condition that the Lorrain troops ſhould take the oath of fidelity to France, ſo long as Duke Charles ſhould continue in priſon; that after his enlargement, the Lorrainers ſhould be free to obey the orders of their natural and lawful Sovereign; and that in the mean time they ſhould be treated like the other troops in his Majeſty's pay. Duke Francis came afterwards to Paris with his two children Prince Ferdinand and Prince Charles. The Court ſpent the winter in perfect tranquillity. The Cardinal finding his authority eſtabliſhed, ſuited himſelf to every body, and managed each man according to his character: he redoubled his friendſhip for the Viſcount, and truſted him with the moſt important ſecrets of State. Duke Francis of Lorrain with his troops deſerts the Spaniards.

About the end of this year, England, which had been a long time in ſuſpenſe what party to eſpouſe, declared for France. One of the conditions of the The Duke of York leaves France.

treaty

An. 1655. treaty was that Louis XIV. ſhould no longer grant protection to Charles II. and ſhould oblige his brother the Duke of York to leave the Kingdom. King Charles obſerving the union that was forming betweeen Mazarin and Cromwell, had the year before retired to Cologne, where he had been maintained at the expence of the Emperor and the Princes of Germany.

An. 1656. In the beginning of the year 1656, Charles went to Bruſſels, where he ſign'd a treaty with the King of Spain, and ſent to his brother the Duke of York to come to him into Flanders. The Duke uſed all his endeavours to avoid leaving France: the education he had there received, the friends he had there acquired, the high reputation he had already gained there, and perhaps the Scots blood in his veins; all theſe made it impoſſible for him to leave without regret a Nation he always loved. He imparted his concern to the Viſcount de Turenne, whom he loved with the affection of a Son, and aſked his advice. The Viſcount adviſed him to write to King Charles, that it would be prudent to intereſt in their common misfortunes both France and Spain; that while the Duke of York was engaging the protection of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty by his ſervices in the army, Charles and his brother the Duke of Glouceſter might eſtabliſh themſelves in the friendſhip of the Catholick King; that the Spaniards having made no mention of the Duke of York in their treaty, did not ſeem deſirous of his diſengaging himſelf from France; that if hereafter they ſhould require it, Charles might privately conſent to his ſtaying in the French army, and appear angry with him for his ſeeming diſobedience. The Duke of York followed the Viſcount's advice, which was approved of by the Queen his mother. He ſent an expreſs to Bruſſels to King Charles, but the King was ſo far from conſenting to his requeſt, that

that he ordered him to come and join him without delay; the Duke with the conſent of Louis XIV. inſtantly obeyed. An. 1656.

The Court of Spain believing that the ill ſucceſs of their affairs in Flanders was owing to the miſunderſtanding between the Prince of Condé and the Arch-duke, prevailed with the Emperor to recall the latter, and at the ſame time the Count de Fuenſaldagne: In their place were ſent Dom John of Auſtria natural ſon of the King of Spain; and the Marquis de Caracena had orders to accompany the young Prince, and aſſiſt him with his Counſels. Dom John of Auſtria, and the Marquis of Caracena come into Flanders.

In the mean time the Emperor formed great deſigns for the eſtabliſhment of his only ſon the Arch-duke, whom he had already cauſed to be declared King of Bohemia and Hungary, and whom he intended for his ſucceſſor both in his hereditary Dominions, and in the Empire. But even this was not enough to ſatisfy his ambition: he was deſirous of reuniting the two branches of the Houſe of Auſtria, by a marriage of the Archduke with the Infanta of Spain, then preſumptive Heireſs to the Crown. Cardinal Mazarin, who was no leſs fond of obtaining that Princeſs for the King his maſter, diſpatched the Count de Lyonne Miniſter and Secretary of State to negotiate this important alliance: the unexpected arrival of Lyonne at a time when there was a bloody war ſubſiſting between the two Crowns, both aſtoniſhed and perplexed the Court of Madrid. Philip the IV. having come to a reſolution in Council, not to liſten to the King's ſuit, for fear he ſhould acquire a rightful pretenſion upon the Spaniſh Monarchy, named the Count de Pegneranda, the ableſt negotiator of his time, to treat with the French Miniſter. In the very firſt conference Pegneranda ſignified to Lyonne, that his journey would prove fruitleſs, and that the Catholick King could not come into a propoſal ſo advantage- Negotiation of peace and alliance between France and Spain proves unſucceſsful.

ous

An. 1656. ous to France, and ſo dangerous for the Houſe of Auſtria.

The Viſcount inveſts Valenciennes.

This negotiation breaking off, the two Crowns prepared to puſh the war with more vigour than ever. The King left Paris, and repaired to the frontiers about the beginning of June; and Marſhal de la Ferté not being yet come from his government of Lorrain, where he was indiſpoſed, Turenne propoſed to beſiege one of the principal towns of Flanders. The Spaniſh army not being yet aſſembled, he marched expeditiouſly with the beſt part of his cavalry to Condé, and thence towards Tournai, thinking to ſurprize this place which was ungarriſon'd; but paſſing by Mortagne, where the Scarp and the Scheld join, he learnt that there were ſeveral Spaniſh regiments encamped near Tournai. As this town was a good way within the enemy's country, and conſequently at a great diſtance from the places whence the French could draw their proviſions and ammunition, he changed his purpoſe, return'd to Condé, left his bridge at Mortagne, under the guard of a body of troops, and marched to Valenciennes, where he arrived about the middle of June. There were in the town no more of regular troops than 2000 foot, and 200 horſe, but the inhabitants, to the number of 10000, were equally capable of ſerving.

The Scheld divides Valenciennes into two parts, and forms great moraſſes both above and below it. Between this town and Condé are wide plains, and on the other ſide the Scheld towards St. Amand ſtands mount Azin, which commands the river. Turenne inveſted the place the very evening he arrived, drove the enemy from two redoubts, and the day following began his lines of circumvallation. La Ferté's army was poſted on the eminence to the right of the river towards St. Amand, that of Turenne on the left of the river towards the plain; his

his line of circumvallation began at the Abbey of St. Sauve ſituate on the bank of the Scheld, on that ſide of Valenciennes which is towards Condé, and ended at the ſame river on the oppoſite ſide towards Bouchain. His quarter, which was on the high road to Quênoi, was ſeparated from that of the Lorrainers on the left by a rivulet; beyond the Lorrainers was the King's houſhold, commanded by the Duke of Navailles, which extended itſelf to a dike of faſcines which ran croſs the moraſs, and terminated at the Scheld. Two bridges of boats had been made upon the river, one above the town, another below it at St. Sauve, for a communication between the two armies. The third day the lines were ſufficiently advanced to hinder the place from being relieved, and the enemy tried in vain to throw ſeven or eight hundred men into it by the Lorrainers quarter; ſome of them were taken, and the reſt retired to Bouchain. The ſixth day the circumvallation was finiſhed with a double ditch defended by palliſades: the men wrought firſt at the avenues that were the moſt expoſed, and afterwards at thoſe places which were the leaſt in danger of being attacked. An. 1656.

The Spaniards made uſe of ſeveral *Reſervoirs* near Bouchain, to ſwell the river Scheld, and drown the country. As the waters increaſed daily, the Viſcount employed ſome regiments of foot, and almoſt all his horſe, in carrying faſcines to ſtrengthen the dike from the Duke of Navailles quarter to the river. For the ſpace of more than a thouſand paces there was every where the depth of ten foot water, over which they threw a bridge of faſcines, that in ſome places floated, and at others was faſtened by ſtakes; but the enemy drawing up all their ſluices, there was ſuch a ſwell of water as took the men up to the waiſt, even upon the dike. However, by dint of labour the army got the better

An. 1656. ter of theſe difficulties: the Viſcount cauſed the *Reſervoir* to be drain'd, ſeveral channels to be dug, and the dike to be raiſed, which was ſo contrived as to throw the greateſt part of the water towards Valenciennes, and drown one quarter of the city. Turenne having ſecured his camp, and the communication with the neighbouring Places, at length opened the trenches.

26 June

The Spaniards come to raiſe the ſiege.

Soon after, the enemy, who had aſſembled at Douai, came and poſted themſelves on an eminence near the Lorrainers camp, within half a canon-ſhot of the French lines: they had on their left the Scheld, over which they laid ſix bridges, and on their right a ſmall brook, over which they laid others: their army, tho' not ſo ſtrong as the King's, yet amounted to above 20000 men; they intrenched themſelves as ſoon as they arrived, and continued ſeven or eight days without undertaking any thing. The Viſcount foreſeeing that the enemy would attack him in his camp, no longer looked upon the ſiege as his principal affair, but turned his thoughts chiefly to the care of his lines.

Marſhal de la Ferté, tho' ſtill indiſpoſed, came to the army ten days after the opening of the trenches: as his quarter was that which the enemy could eaſieſt attack, the Viſcount had fortified it with double lines palliſaded, one of which was new and the other old: but the Marſhal thinking the firſt ſufficient levelled the other. At the three weeks end, a branch of the trench was carried on at the Viſcount's attack to the brink of the town ditch, and another to the ditch of the half-moon: at la Ferté's attack they took a *tenaille*. The beſieged had already done their beſt, and were beginning to ſlacken in their efforts the three or four laſt days, when at length the Spaniards drew up in battalia in the morning, and ſent away their baggage to Bouchain. It was not doubted but they would attack the lines

as ſoon as it was dark, and the beſiegers paſs'd the whole night under arms. As there were but 12000 foot in the King's army, and as it was neceſſary to employ the infantry at both the approaches, ſo vaſt a circuit could not be equally guarded; Turenne to ſupply this defect as well as he could, placed a body of horſe behind the line, and ordered ſome regiments of foot to hold themſelves ready to march to whatever place ſhould be attacked. There was no alarm the firſt night, and the next day the enemy appeared in order of battle without baggage: advice was brought that the principal attack would be on la Ferté's quarter, and that Count de Marſin who was at St. Amand was to advance with three or four thouſand men to attack the Viſcount's. As the enemy were near enough to reach the intrenchments in half an hour, la Ferté could make no change in the diſpoſition of his troops. Turenne put him in mind two or three times to be upon the watch, and to place guards every where: but the Marſhal look'd upon the Viſcount's advice only as an affront and ſlighted it. In the beginning of the night the Prince of Condé and Dom John paſſed the Scheld, advanced toward la Ferté's quarter, drew up their troops in battalia, came to the outward ditch of the intrenchment without being diſcover'd, fell on with a wide front and carried the line with little difficulty. At the firſt firing of the muſketeers two regiments of Turenne's army paſſed the dike and the bridge, and four others had orders to follow them. La Ferté finding the Spaniſh troops had entered his quarters, ran with ſome ſquadrons to repulſe them, but the confuſion was already ſo great that he could do nothing effectual. The enemy's infantry having filled up the ditches and broke down the palliſades marched ſtrait to the town about day-break, while the cavalry purſued the run-aways who ſought to repaſs the river. As there was but one bridge, the paſſage over which was encumbered by the baggage, the Spaniards

An. 1656.

16 July.

An. 1656. made a great many priſoners; la Ferté was taken at the head of his gendarmes with more than 400 officers and near 4000 ſoldiers: the remains of the rout eſcaped to Condé. The two regiments which the Viſcount had ſent over the dike having been defeated the other four halted, and Turenne came up to them ſoon after the beginning of the fight, which did not laſt above a quarter of an hour: Marſin had attack'd Turenne's quarter at the ſame time that the Spaniards had fallen on la Ferté's, but he was vigorouſly repulſed.

The Viſcount's fine retreat.

At day-break the ſhouts of joy in Valenciennes proclaimed that the town was relieved. Turenne ſent forthwith to the trenches with orders to his troops to retire, but they being above a league off the orders arrived too late, ſo that he loſt one half of them. The Viſcount inſtantly commanded back the infantry that were on the dike, ordered the canon which were on that part of the lines to be diſmounted, and that the guard horſes ſhould be made uſe of to draw them from place to place in caſe of an attack. He order'd the lines to be levelled, and as he marched with his troops to the Lorrainers quarter, made the Duke de Navailles diſlodge; when he had aſſembled his troops he quitted the intrenchment leaving ſome tents and baggage behind him. It was impoſſible to avoid being in a little confuſion at firſt, but in a ſhort time he got into ſuch good order that the enemy durſt not purſue him. He advanced towards Quênoi, and all the army believing that he would retire to the frontiers of France, the baggage began to file off beyond that town: but the Viſcount ſent orders to ſtop it, and having choſen a camp near Quênoi lodged there that night; the next day he received a re-inforcement of 1500 men who were to have eſcorted a convoy to the camp; he waited for the enemy contrary to the opinion of all his officers, and even reſolved to hazard an engagement rather than fly. Had M. de Turenne had nothing to fear but the loſs of Quênoi, he would have retired into Picardy: but being

being ſenſible that ſuch a retreat would alarm the Court, give new life to the Prince of Condé's party, and cauſe a general diſcontent in the Kingdom, he reaſoned with his officers upon the matter without holding a council of war, and continued to encamp as if he apprehended nothing. As he had no tools to make ſtrong works, and would not make ſlight ones, he left his camp open. An. 1656.

The Prince of Condé and Dom John advanced towards Quênoi at the head of their troops. As ſoon as the Viſcount perceived them he marched to meet them with ſome regiments of the main guard. The Spaniards not doubting but he would fly before them, had already detach'd 3000 horſe to purſue him; but when they were approached near enough to diſcover his camp they were ſurpriz'd to ſee that he was not entrenched, that his tents were ſtanding, and that he waited reſolutely for them without ſtirring. At the firſt approach of the enemy, the French began to move the baggage, but Turenne firing a piſtol at a ſoldier who was loading a cart, commanded on pain of death that no body ſhould quit his poſt. By this aſtoniſhing intrepidity, and the little precaution he ſeem'd to take on ſo preſſing an occaſion, he quite removed the apprehenſions of the army. The Spaniards continued two days in preſence without daring to attempt any thing. The third, two or three thouſand men who had eſcaped to Condé from Marſhal de la Ferté's defeat, and had afterwards marched to St. Guiſlain, and from thence to Landrecies, came and joined the Viſcount at Quênoi; upon which the enemy thought proper to march towards Condé. Turenne perceiving their deſign ſent a thouſand horſe each with a ſack of corn behind him to victual the place, from whence he had drawn abundance of proviſions during the ſiege of Valenciennes. * "There is ſcarce a General in the

The Prince of Condé and Don John purſue him but without attacking him.

* Mem. de Buſſi Rabutin of this year. p. 371.

An. 1656. world, says Bussi Rabutin, "beside Marshal Turenne, who in presence of a victorious army, "much stronger than his own, would have dared "to send away so considerable a detachment as that "was. A man must possess the art of war to perfection to act thus; *These are indeed master strokes.*

Letter of le Tellier Secretary of State, to the Viscount on his fine retreat.

As soon as the news of this famous encampment arriv'd at Court, le Tellier Secretary of State wrote to the Viscount in these terms. "By your prudence, "my Lord, and by a vigorous conduct, you have restor'd the reputation of the King's arms. In truth "nothing can be finer than your encampment near "Quênoi, after the defeat at Valenciennes: thus to "have made head against the enemy flush'd with "success and even in their own country, and to have "obliged them to retire tho' victorious; this is one "of those strokes that are peculiar to the great masters in the military art." See nevertheless how the Viscount speaks of this so much admir'd action in a letter to his Lady dated from the camp before Quênoi. *The enemy came pretty near this place, they staid two days and then marched towards Condé.*

The Spaniards besiege and retake Condé.

The siege of Valenciennes being rais'd, Condé was so wedg'd within the enemy's country, that it was a very easy matter for them, without separating their quarters, to hinder either men or provisions being thrown into it. Turenne receiving an account from the Governor, that there were not provisions in the place for above ten or twelve days, did not think it adviseable to make any attempt to hinder its being taken; he contented himself with having retarded it by the succour he had sent thither, thereby getting time to rest and refresh his troops. As soon as the town had capitulated, the Viscount pass'd the Scheld, march'd to Arras, and from thence towards Lens, with a view to hinder the Spaniards returning to the frontiers of the Kingdom, and to draw them into Artois which was full of strong towns belonging to the King.

While

* While Turenne was in his camp near Lens, where he ſtaid twelve days, he ſent the Count de Grandpré, afterwards Marſhal de Joyeuſe, at the head of ſome ſquadrons to Arras, to eſcort a convoy that was coming from thence; the young Count having an engagement with a Lady, let the convoy go away under the command of the Major of his regiment. A Spaniſh party that was marauding attack'd the eſcort, but was repuls'd and defeated by the Major who happily brought the convoy ſafe to Lens. M. de Turenne was inform'd of Grandpré's folly, and knowing it wou'd have ruin'd him at Court, ſaid to the officers who were about him; *The Count de Grandpré will be very angry with me for having given him a private commiſſion, which kept him at Arras at a time when he wou'd have had an opportunity of ſhewing his bravery.* The Count at his return being told what his General had ſaid, ran to his tent, threw himſelf at his feet and expreſs'd his gratitude and repentance with tears full of affection. The Viſcount then ſpoke to him with a paternal ſeverity; and his reproofs had ſuch an effect on that young officer, that far from falling again into the ſame error, he ſignaliz'd himſelf by the gallanteſt actions, during the reſt of the campaign, and became at length one of the ableſt Captains of his age.

An. 1656. Turenne's conduct towards the Count de Grandpré.

The enemy, after they had refreſh'd themſelves in the plains between Cambrai and Bapaume, march'd to Lens in purſuit of the King's army. Turenne foreſeeing that he ſhould ſoon be obliged to decamp for want of forage, went and pitch'd at Houdain in an advantageous poſt, his right wing on an eminence, his infantry and his left wing in the plain. The Spaniards encouraged by his retreat continued to purſue, and between eight and nine in the morning appear'd within a league and half of

* The author had this from the Abbot de Saſſenage to whom the Marſhal de Joyeuſe often related it; alſo from the Marquis d'Imecourt.

An. 1656. his army, but ſeeing it in a fighting poſture, they halted for more than three hours, and when they had held a council of war, came forward as if they intended to fight; however, the day paſs'd without their venturing an attack. Towards the evening they drew up in battalia a quarter of a league from the French army, and extended their horſe and foot in the ſame manner as the Viſcount, who ſpent the night in making ſome *redans* at the head of his left wing. At day-break the enemy came to view his camp, and the whole day paſs'd in ſkirmiſhes without coming to a general battle. The good order, with the ſpirit and reſolution that appear'd in the French troops, once again diſcouraged the Spaniards: and in ſpite of all the Prince of Condé cou'd do, they decamp'd the next day without coming to an action, and return'd towards Lens. The King's army, whoſe Confidence was increas'd by their retreat, became now the purſuers, incommoding and haraſſing them in their retreat by frequent ſkirmiſhes. They encamp'd near Douai, and ſome days after ſent a body of foot to inveſt S. Guiſlain, and advanced themſelves to cover the ſiege.

Turenne return'd, and paſſing by Arras, march'd ſtrait to the river Somme, in order to conceal his deſign from the garriſon of Cambrai; and then leaving his infantry behind him, turn'd ſhort with his cavalry, kept along the river, and went and inveſted la Capelle, where the Spaniards had their principal magazines. The Viſcount's infantry arrived two days after the cavalry, and as there were but two hundred men in the place, the beſiegers in one night carried the counterſcarp, took three half-moons, paſs'd the ditch, and ſet the miners to the baſtion; notwithſtanding that all theſe outworks were well *fraiſed* and paliſaded. The Prince of Condé who was with Dom John before S. Guiſlain, immediately rais'd that ſiege and came to relieve la Capelle; he advanc'd

advanc'd with the Spaniards within a league of the circumvallation: but a heavy rain during their whole march having fatigued the infantry they did not think proper to fight, and remain'd two days in preſence of the King's army, which continued the ſiege, battered the walls to powder with their canon, and forced the town to ſurrender. As ſoon as la Capelle was taken, the breaches repair'd, and a good garriſon placed in it, Turenne marched with all expedition, and after incredible fatigue arrived within a league of St. Guiſlain, ſent Caſtelnau thither with 500 foot, proviſions for eight months, and ammunition in abundance. The enemy made haſte to reach St. Guiſlain, but did not appear before the place till two hours after it had been ſupply'd with warlike ſtores and proviſions; nor durſt they undertake any thing farther during the remainder of the campaign, which they put an end to ſoon after. The King's army ſtaid in Cambreſis till the beginning of November and then repaſſed the Somme retiring into France. Thus it was that Turenne repair'd the defeat at Valenciennes, check'd the ardor of the great Condé, ſurpriſed the magazines of a victorious army, and obliged it to retreat before him, at the ſame time that it had undertaken to purſue him. He no ſooner arrived at Court but compliments were made him on the happy ſucceſs of the campaign, and he obtain'd a favour he had long ſued for, which was, not to ſerve with Marſhal de la Ferté, who, on the King's paying his ranſom, had been ſet at liberty. An. 1656.

While the Viſcount was at Court, the Duke of Orleans having made up his differences with the Cardinal came to Compiegne to wait upon the King, who went half a league out of the town to meet him, and received him with marks of the ſincereſt affection; he took him into his coach and carried him to the caſtle: the Queen ſeem'd to have forgot all paſt affronts: Duke of Orleans returns to Court.

An. 1656. fronts: and the Cardinal who entertained him in the evening, had all the appearances of a perfect reconciliation. The Duke after he had been eight days at Court returned to Blois, where he continued quiet and peaceable to his death. There was now no ſhadow of the Fronde remaining; the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Conti, and the Ducheſs of Longueville had obtained the King's pardon: the Prince of Condé was entirely with the Spaniards, and Cardinal de Retz not daring to return into France was wandring in diſguiſe over all Chriſtendom: the Bordelois being returned to their duty, and all the reſt of the provinces having ſubmitted, there was a perfect tranquillity within the Kingdom, and Cardinal Mazarin diſpoſed of every thing with an abſolute authority.

An. 1657. The Court to reward the Viſcount de Turenne, and encourage him to execute the great deſigns he was meditating for the next campaign, declared him Colonel General of the horſe, an employment which has ever ſince been in his family. * After the raiſing of the ſiege of Arras and the death of the Duke of Joyeuſe, who had poſſeſſed that employment, together with the office of High-Chamberlain, the Prince of Conti then commanding in Catalonia, had aſked the former; but the King had already promiſed it to the Viſcount de Turenne, and in reality gave it him, but on condition that he ſhould not aſſume the title, nor diſcharge the functions belonging to it ſo long as the war continued. His commiſſion was however made out in the beginning of this year; and ſome time after, his nephew, the Duke of Bouillon, was declared High-Chamberlain.

The Viſcount is made Colonel General of the horſe.

A new alliance between France and England againſt Spain. Cardinal Mazarin being intent upon repairing the loſſes of the laſt year, and putting the King's forces into a condition to undertake ſomething great, made

* See father Daniel, Hiſtoire de la Milice Françoiſe. Tom. 2. p. 456.

a league

a league offenſive and defenſive with Cromwell a- An. 1657.
gainſt Spain. By this treaty the Uſurper engaged to ſend ſix thouſand foot into Flanders, on condition that the French ſhould undertake the ſiege of Mardyke, Gravelin, or Dunkerque, and that if either of the two former places were firſt taken it ſhould be put into his hands to be as a hoſtage till he ſhould be made maſter of Dunkerque, which he was to keep, reſtoring the other to the King. Upon the report of this league, Charles II. who was at Bruges, cauſed ſome troops to be rais'd for the ſervice of the Spaniards, and gave the command of them to the Count de Marſin, who ſerved no longer under the Prince of Condé.

The Viſcount took the field towards the beginning of May; and finding that the Engliſh were ſlow in coming, and that the Spaniards were wholly buſied in thinking how to preſerve their maritime towns, formed a deſign to ſurpriſe Cambray which was ungarriſoned. The King went to Montreuil, in order to make the enemy believe that his army would be chiefly employ'd towards the ſea coaſt; and Marſhal de la Ferté had orders to march towards the frontiers to hinder the paſſing of the Prince of Condé's troops which had wintered in the provinces of Luxembourg, Gelderland, Juliers and Brabant. The Viſcount ſetting out from the neighbourhood of Bethune with all his cavalry about the end of the month, croſſed the Scheld over a bridge of boats, arrived in a day and a night before Cambray, and encamped a little above the town in the road to Bouchain: his infantry joining him the ſame day he inſtantly inveſted the place, and hoped to be ſo well ſhut up the next day, partly by intrenchments and partly by the baggage and carriages belonging to the army, as to be ſecure from being attacked by the enemy's horſe, which, as he reckoned, could not be up with him before that time, whatever diligence they uſed; neither could he

The Prince of Condé relieves Cambray.

An. 1657. he imagine that la Ferté had already let the Prince of Condé paſs. The Spaniards having deſired the Prince to come ſpeedily to the defence of Flanders, he croſſed the Meuſe, marched with all his cavalry to Valenciennes, arrived about ten a clock in the morning at Bouchain the very ſame day that the Viſcount inveſted Cambray, and about eleven at night advanced towards the town with 3000 horſe. How expeditious and ſecret ſoever his march was, Turenne had notice of it; and being perſuaded that the Prince would fetch a compaſs to avoid the French camp, he went and poſted himſelf in a place, where according to all the rules of war Condé muſt paſs. By good fortune for the Prince his guide miſled him, and brought him by the high-road from Bouchain: he perceived the miſtake, but without being diſconcerted, marched his troops in three columns, three ſquadrons in front, forced his way through two lines of the King's horſe, and arrived
30 May. about day-break at the counterſcarp of the citadel. The Count de Salazar Governor of Cambray ſo little expected this ſuccour, that the Prince was a long time at the paliſades before thoſe within would open to him. Turenne having learnt the number and quality of the troops that had entered the place, thought proper to raiſe the ſiege, and ſent advice of it to Court. Condé left a ſufficient garriſon in Cambray, returned to Bruſſels, and ſent the reſt of his troops to the general rendezvous near Mons.

Marſhal de la Ferté beſieges Montmédi. This ill ſucceſs diſconcerted Turenne's meaſures, and made him take the road to S. Quentin to cover the frontiers: the ſuccouring of Cambray having given the enemy time to aſſemble, there was no undertaking any thing between the ſea and the Scheld. The ſix thouſand Engliſh who had landed, join'd the King's army at S. Quentin. The young King came to the camp with the Cardinal, and ſent orders to Marſhal de la Ferté to go and beſiege Montmédi in the province

vince of Luxembourg, in order to make a diverſion and hinder the enemy either from attacking ſome place in Flanders not ſufficiently provided, or making a new irruption into France. La Ferté march'd towards Montmédi, which had but 400 men to defend it; Turenne ſent him 4000 foot, after which putting ſome regiments of infantry into Landrecies and Quênoi, he kept with the reſt of his troops upon the frontiers, in order to hinder Montmédi from being relieved, and watch the motions of the Spaniards. The ſiege of this place laſted two entire months by reaſon of the rocks near the counterſcarp. An. 1657.

During this time, the Prince of Condé and Don John of Auſtria made ſeveral marches and countermarches to amuſe the Viſcount, divert him from his purpoſe, and fall ſuddenly upon Calais. Having joined their forces near Charlemont, they made as if they would go to the relief of Montmédi, and then inſtantly turning back took the road to Calais: they detached the Prince de Lignes to ſeize, when the tide ſhould be out, a ſuburb of the town which joins the key. If that enterprize had ſucceeded they would have been maſters of the place in a few hours; but the Prince de Lignes came too late, the waves were already beating againſt the walls, ſo that the project miſcarried: the inhabitants taking the alarm doubled their guard, fortified that weak part, and deprived the Spaniards of all hopes of ſurpriſing it. All theſe motions and marches of the enemy proving of no effect, the Prince of Condé and Dom John returned to Aire, croſſed Artois and Hainault, and at length arriv'd at Marienbourg, deſigning to ſuccour Montmédi: but the place had already ſurrendered. The Spaniards endeavour to ſurpriſe Calais. 6 Auguſt.

* The Viſcount immediately decamped, croſſed the Sambre at Aimeries, and marched to beſiege St. Venant a town upon the Lys in the county of Artois: he knew that the enemy were fatigued with Turenne beſieges St. Venant.

* Duke of York's Mem.

their

An. 1657. their fruitleſs marches backward and forward, and that he might inveſt the place before they could throw any ſuccour into it. He ſent almoſt all his baggage before, paſſed by Neuville near Bouchain, and by Sailli upon the Scarp, and made a march of five and twenty leagues in three days. The Prince
14 Auguſt. of Condé preſſed the Spaniards to leave Marienbourg without delay; but he could not prevail with them to decamp till the 14th of Auguſt, and they did not get to Calonne upon the Lys near St. Venant before the 20th: there they had advice that the town was already inveſted, and they found there was no probable means of making the French raiſe the ſiege, but by ſurprizing a convoy of 4 or 500 waggons, which was to come to their camp the next day from Bethune. The Spaniards might have decamped from Calonne at day-break; but notwithſtanding all the Prince of Condé could ſay, they did not move till towards noon. While Dom John and the Marquis de Caracena were taking their *Sieſte*, or afternoon's nap, in their coaches, the Duke of York at the head of the infantry entered a plain, from whence he perceived the convoy eſcorted only by three ſquadrons, and deſcending from the village of Montbernenſon with all expedition towards the camp: as he had no cavalry, it was impoſſible for him to come up with them, but he inſtantly gave notice of what he had ſeen to the Prince de Lignes, who was come into the ſame plain with four or five ſquadrons: the Duke deſired him to march with expedition, and attack the French; but the Prince anſwered, that in the Spaniſh army, to take the leaſt ſtep without expreſs orders from the Commanders in chief, might be as much as a man's head was worth *. The Spaniſh Generals were ſleeping, and their ſervants durſt not diſturb them. They at length waked, and then ſent, but too late, ſome

* Duke of York's Memoirs.

ſqua-

ſquadrons to attack the convoy, which about four o'clock in the afternoon got within the lines of the beſiegers. Another convoy that was coming from Arras by Lilers, had not the ſame ſucceſs, tho' eſcorted by eight regiments of horſe, and 1500 foot: the Marquis de Boutteville purſued it with 1200 men reinforced by the garriſons of Aire and St. Omer, ſurprized it near St. Venant in a place full of defiles wherethe foremoſt could not ſuccour the hindmoſt, fell upon their rear-guard, routed it, killed a great many men, and carried off ſome part of the baggage †. An. 1657.

The Spaniards encamped at Montbernenſon, whence they reſolved to go and inveſt Ardres; but they deferred their march for ſome days, leſt the Viſcount, who had not yet opened the trenches before St. Venant, ſhould leave that ſiege, and come and force them to a battle; but as ſoon as they underſtood that the trenches were opened, they drew near Ardres, where there were but 300 foot ſoldiers in garriſon. Had they attacked the place the ſame night they arrived before it, they would have carried it; but they loſt four and twenty hours in making an uſeleſs circumvallation. While the Prince of Condé was ſuffering theſe delays with the utmoſt impatience, a council of war was held at the Marquis de Caracena's quarters, to conſider by what part to make the attack. The Generals being aſſembled, went all up to the top of a tower to view the place with proſpective glaſſes; and abundance of ſuperfluous reaſoning there was about an enterprize which required not the leaſt reflection. At length they agreed to attack a half-moon that was between two baſtions; and of theſe baſtions the Duke of York was to conduct the approaches to that on the right, the Prince of Condé to that on the left. The attacks began towards the evening, The Spaniards beſiege Ardres.

† Turenné's Memoirs.

and

An. 1657. and as the beſieged had no men to defend their outworks, the beſiegers advanced in the night without difficulty quite to the ditch, where they made a lodgment before they ſet the miners to work.

The Viſcount takes St. Venant, relieves Ardres, and beſieges Mardyke.

While the enemy were loſing their time at Ardres, Turenne preſſed the ſiege of St. Venant night and day without intermiſſion; and as Cardinal Mazarin had not ſent him any money, he cut his own plate to pieces to be diſtributed to the ſoldiers. The troops animated by his generoſity, forwarded the works with incredible diligence, paſſed a wide ditch full of water, ſeized ſome outwarks, filled up the town ditch, and preſſed the beſieged ſo hard, that they aſked to capitulate. Turenne, without waiting till the capitulation was ſign'd, detached inſtantly 4000 horſe to go towards Ardres; and he ordered them to paſs near the walls of Aire, that the garriſon might fire the canon of the town upon them, and that Don John hearing this noiſe, might imagine the whole French army was coming to fall upon him. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; the Spaniards raiſed the ſiege, and marched away to the ſide of Bourbourg. The violent rains, the darkneſs of the night, and the dirty roads full of water, extremely fatigued their troops, who intrenched themſelves the next day between the Aa and the Colme. The Viſcount had partly the ſame difficulties of the ſtorm and bad roads to ſtruggle with in going over the plains of St. Omer in the way to Ardres, where he learnt that the enemy were moved off: he immediately returned towards the Lys, ſeized upon La Motte-aux-Bois, which incommoded St. Venant very much, and raſed it to the ground. He then marched towards the Colme, poſſeſſed himſelf of Wate, Bourbourg, and ſeveral other forts, and obliged the Spaniards to retire under the canon of Dunkerque about the middle of September; they ſent three Italian regiments to Mardyke, detached ſeveral

ſeveral battalions with ſome horſe, to throw themſelves into Gravelin, and encamped with the reſt of their army behind the canal of Dunkerque. The Viſcount followed them cloſe; and as he thought the ſeaſon too far advanced to undertake the ſiege of theſe two laſt named places, which were provided with every thing neceſſary for a long and vigorous defence, he fell upon Mardyke, beſieged it, took it in a few days, and according to the treaty made with Cromwell, put it into the hands of the Engliſh. An. 1657. 3d October.

After this the Viſcount approached Gravelin without delay, having now conceived hopes of taking it, paſſing the winter there, and by that means of ſecuring both Mardyke and Bourbourg: but the Spaniards to ſave Gravelin, drew up all their ſluices, and drowned the country for four leagues round the place: beſides, the rains which fell were ſo exceſſive, that there was no encamping there; Turenne found himſelf obliged to retire with his army beyond Bourbourg, where he left 2000 men, continuing his march towards Ruminghem two long leagues from it; in the ſix weeks that he ſtaid there he raiſed forts upon the banks of the river Aa, laid bridges over it, made the canals navigable, and ſo contrived matters, that his camp had a communication with Bourbourg and Mardyke, in order to cover the latter. In the end of November the French quitted Ruminghem, and the enemy who had been encamped behind Dunkerque, retired into Flanders. The Viſcount return'd to Court, after he had led his army into Boulenois; there it ſtaid till the end of December, and was then diſtributed into the ſeveral Provinces of France.

The beginning of the year 1658 was not very fortunate to the French; on one ſide Marſhal d'Hocquincourt, who had enter'd anew into engagements with the Prince of Condé, gained over the Town-Major An. 1658. Turenne marches to beſiege Dunkerque.

An. 1658. Major of Hedin, who commanded there upon the death of the Governor, and prevailed with him to receive Spaniſh troops into the place; on another ſide, Marſhal d'Aumont, who lay at anchor in the road of Oſtend with 1500 men, let himſelf be cheated by the inhabitants of that town, who by pretending they would deliver it up to him, engaged him to come in over their bridge; the Spaniards who had hid themſelves in cellars, inſtantly ſallied out, and took five or ſix hundred of his men priſoners. There were at the ſame time ſeveral commotions in the different Provinces of France among the *Nobleſſe*, eſpecially in Normandy: the Dutcheſs of Longueville was now too much abſorpt in devotion to enter into cabals; and yet nevertheleſs ſhe did not fail even from her Retreat to influence the chief leaders and make them incline to what ſide ſhe pleaſed. In the mean time Cromwell with an inſolent haughtineſs called upon the Cardinal to beſiege Dunkerque; and as the ſituation of affairs conſtrained his Eminence to diſſemble the Protector's arrogance, the Viſcount had orders in the ſpring to advance with his army towards the ſea-coaſts, that he might examine the practicableneſs of an enterpriſe which could neither be begun nor poſtpon'd without great inconveniencies: on one hand, to attack Dunkerque while Furnes, Bergues, and Gravelin which ſurrounded it were untaken, was to let himſelf be beſieged at the ſame time that he was beſieging; and beſides, to inveſt it in the month of May when there was yet no forage for the cavalry would be expoſing them to the danger of periſhing: on the other hand, the delaying of the affair would give the enemy time to get together, and might perhaps diſoblige Cromwell, to whom Spain was making great offers to diſengage him from France. Theſe latter conſiderations determined the Viſcount to undertake the ſiege. As ſoon as the inhabitants of Dunkerque had notice of his

his march, they pull'd up their ſluices, and laid the country under water as far as the lake of Bergues, form'd by the overflowings of the Colme. The country being drown'd and full of Marſhes, there was no way through it but by the dike which goes from Bergues to Dunkerque: and even this road the immoderate rains of the winter had ſo ſpoilt and broke, that in many places the water covered it. The Spaniards having raiſed on this dike two conſiderable forts, which mutually defended each other, poſted a thouſand men in each, and foritfied the rivers and canals with a great number of ſtrong redoubts; they ſent the Marquis de Lêde, a conſummate maſter in the art of defending towns, to throw himſelf into Dunkerque with 2200 foot and 800 horſe, which he drew from Nieuport, Furnes, Dixmuyde, and the other neighbouring towns. An. 1658.

Tho' ſea and land and the ſeaſon were againſt the Viſcount's enterprize, he was not diſcouraged, but perſiſted ſteadily in his deſign, unmoved by the remonſtrances of his officers or the fears of his friends. As the King was come near Hedin at the head of 10 or 12000 men to cover the frontiers, the Viſcount could have no more than about 7 or 8000. With this inconſiderable army he marched into Artois, detached the Marquis de Crequi from Bethune, with 800 horſe to ſeize Caſſel, paſſed the Lys himſelf at St. Venant, and advanced towards the Colme. Having ſurpriz'd a redoubt where the Spaniards had poſted thirty men to defend the paſſage of the river, he croſs'd it without oppoſition, and then caſt about how to reach Dunkerque, about which the country being under water looked like a ſea. He ordered a great number of faſcines to be carried to ſtrengthen and mend the roads: ſeveral ditches to be filled up, the moſt paſſable to be ſought out by ſounding, bridges to be laid over the water-gangs and canals, and piles to be driven down, and planks

An. 1658 laid upon them; theſe precautions however were only for the baggage and canon. The order was no ſooner given for marching towards Dunkerque, but the ſoldiers holding their muſkets high, boldly waded through the water, contending with one another for the glory of being foremoſt. The advanced guards of the Spaniards in the fort, and upon the dike, took a fright at the approach of the French, and ran away, without waiting till they were attacked; the greater part fled to Dunkerque, and the reſt to Bergues. Turenne having ſeized the ſeveral redoubts and forts on the dike and the canals, arrived at length with his army before the place.

Situation of Dunkerque, and the diſpoſition of the lines.

Dunkerque is ſituated among thoſe white ſand hills called the * *Dunes*, which ſtretch themſelves on the coaſt of the Germanick ſea, from Calais to Ecluſe: on the South it is encompaſſed with canals and moraſſes, and on the North by the ſea, whoſe waves beat againſt the foot of the Dunes at high water, but at low water it leaves a ſandy ſhore quite dry, five hundred paces broad, which is called the *Eſtrang* †, or Strand. The waters covered all the low lands about the town, and there was neither covering for the ſoldiers, nor wood to build barraques for them; the Viſcount was obliged to make every thing neceſſary for the ſiege, and for the ſubſiſtence of his troops to be brought from Calais; proviſions, forrage, tools, paliſades, planks, and even faſcines. When all things were got ready, he ſet the men to work upon the lines which began at the edge of the ſtrand to the Eaſt, went over the *Dunes*, croſſed the canals of Mardyke, Bourbourg, Bergues and Furnes, and turning about the city terminated at the ſtrand to the Weſt, making a curve in form of a creſcent, of which the opening was to the ſea. Crom-

* Dunes comes from an old Celtick word, which ſignifies hill or eminence.

† Eſtrang comes from the Teutonick word *Strang*, which ſignifies ſhore.

well

well in performance of the treaty with France, ſent a naval force to hinder ſuccours being thrown into the place; ſo that Dunkerque was totally inveſted by ſea and land. But as the ſtrand was left dry for ſix hours every day and every night, and as the enemy might that way have an eaſy paſſage either from Nieuport to the Eaſt, or Gravelin on the Weſt, it was neceſſary to ſhut it up. In order thereto the Viſcount, at each extremity of his line, made a ſtaccado, which reached croſs the ſtrand quite to the low water mark. Theſe ſtaccados were made of huge piles faſtened together with double chains; behind the piles was a barricade of bomb cheſts, which were drawn thence by horſes as the tide came in, and as faſt as it went out again replaced; ſo that there never was any ſpace left void: behind the bomb cheſts were ranged ſeveral barks with canon, which defended the approach of the ſtaccados. A part of the cavalry kept guard every night upon the ſhore; and laſtly, ſome of the ſand hills that were very high or too far off to be incloſed within the lines, were made tenable by intrenchments, and troops were placed there to defend them. The Cardinal brought the King and the whole Court to be ſpectators of ſo fine a ſiege. An. 1658.

The works were ſcarce finiſhed, when the 6000 Engliſh landed and joined the army. Lockart the Engliſh Ambaſſador had the command of them in chief, but left every thing to the management * of Major General Morgan, an experienced ſoldier, and one of the braveſt officers of his time: the army very weak at firſt, grew ſtronger every day by the arrival of new troops from France. Turenne ordered ſeveral bridges to be made over the canals, in order to a communication between the different quarters, appointed the General Officers their poſts, and opened the trenches by two approaches, of which one

* Morgan's Memoirs.

An. 1658. was carried on by the French, the other by the Engliſh. The Viſcount did not go to bed for ſome nights in the beginning, that he might with his own eyes ſee every thing rightly diſpoſed; and his nephews the Duke of Bouillon and the Count d'Auvergne, whom he had brought with him, never left him. The firſt days of the ſiege the enemy made ſeveral ſallies, attacked with courage, and were as bravely repulſed. The beſiegers had already tore down ſome of the paliſades upon the glacis, ſeized ſome traverſes in the cover'd way, and were going to make a lodgment upon the counterſcarp, before the Spaniards thought of putting themſelves on their march to ſtop the progreſs of the French arms.

The Spaniards march to relieve Dunkerque.

The news of this ſiege which came to Bruſſels about the end of May aſtoniſhed the enemy: they could ſcarce believe that the French would venture upon that enterprize, without poſſeſſing themſelves firſt of the neighbouring towns; however they got their forces together, and marched to attack the Viſcount in his lines. The general rendezvous was ordered to be at Ypres the tenth of June, and the 13th the Spaniſh army appeared upon the Downs or ſand-hills near Dunkerque, but unprovided with every thing neceſſary for a battle: the artillery was not arrived, nor the baggage, nor even the tools for throwing up the earth; there was ſcarce powder enough for the infantry alone. The Spaniards nevertheleſs without intrenching themſelves, encamped within two canon ſhot of the French lines: they flattered themſelves that their approach would give new ſpirit to the beſieged, and that the Viſcount would do as at Valenciennes, where he had ſeen them ſeven days together before him without attacking them; but they did not conſider that he was now alone, and had no longer a competitor of a quite oppoſite character, who frequently thwarted his deſigns, and broke his meaſures.

* As ſoon as Turenne had notice of the enemy's arrival, he went himſelf at the head of his own regiment to *reconnoitre* them; Marſhal d'Hocquincourt, who was in the Spaniſh army with the Prince of Condé, coming forward with the advance-guard, was killed upon the ſpot by a muſket ball. The Viſcount having obſerved that the Spaniards had made a bridge over the canal, and not doubting but they intended to attack him in his lines, reſolved to prevent them, and give them battle the next day: he commanded the officers to hold themſelves ready, and ſent a Captain of his regiment to General Lockart to impart to him the reaſons of his conduct: Lockart anſwered the officer, *That he had an entire confidence in the Prince, and when the battle was over it would be time enough to inform himſelf of his reaſons.* As it was to be feared that the beſieged would ſally out when the lines were deſerted, Turenne reinforced the guard of the trenches with ſeveral French and Engliſh battalions, beſides eight ſquadrons of horſe. He then wrapped himſelf up in his cloak, and laid down upon the ſand; they waked him an hour after, bringing to him a page who had been taken the evening before at the viewing of the lines, and had juſt eſcaped from the Spaniſh camp; the young man told the Viſcount ſeveral particulars of the enemy's ſituation, and aſſured him that it would be two or three days before their canon arrived: Turenne made him repeat what he had ſaid about the canon, and then laid down again upon the ſand and ſlept.

An. 1658.

The Viſcount reſolves to give the Spaniards battle.

In the mean time the Spaniards remained quiet in their camp, ſuſpected nothing of the Viſcount's deſign, and on the evening ſuffered their parties to go out a forraging. The Duke of York being at ſupper with the Marquis de Caracena, ſaid to him, that he could not approve an encampment without lines,

* Mem. de Buſſi Rabutin for this year.

An. 1658. and that if the French did not attack him that night, they would infallibly do it the next day. The Marquis and Dom Eſtevan de Gamara anſwered, that they deſired nothing more: to which the Duke replied, *I know the Viſcount de Turenne very well, you'll have your deſire.* Accordingly about five o'clock the very next morning, their advance-guards gave them notice, that the French cavalry were coming out of the lines; the Duke of York and the Prince of Condé advancing as far as the *Vedettes* or horſe-centries, perceived the King's cavalry coming forward with ſome field-pieces, the French infantry on the left, and the Engliſh cloſe to the ſea. The Duke returned and gave the Spaniſh Generals advice of it. Dom John very gravely declared, that he believed nothing of the matter, but that the French had an intention to attack and carry off the advance-guard: the Duke aſſured him that it was not uſual to march a great body of men, with artillery at their head, to force a guard. The Prince of Condé arrived that inſtant, and confirm'd the Duke's report; but notwithſtanding this, the Spaniſh Generals would not ſtir. Condé heartily provoked at their indolence, turned towards the Duke of Glouceſter, and aſked him whether he had ever ſeen a battle won; the Duke anſwered that he had not; *In half an hour*, replied Condé, *you will ſee in what manner we ſhall loſe one.* At laſt the Spaniſh Generals being no longer able to doubt of Turenné's deſign, repaired each to his poſt.

14 June.

Diſpoſition of the Spaniſh army.

Their army conſiſted of 6000 foot, and 8000 horſe: Dom John commanded the right, which extended from a high ſand hill, that was nearer to the French army than any of the reſt, to the ſea; the Dukes of York and Glouceſter, Dom Eſtevan de Gamara, and the Marquis de Caracena were his Leutenant Generals. The Spaniards were poſted upon the high ſand hill, next them the regiments of the

the King of England, then the Walloons, and laſt of all the German battalions. The Prince of Condé commanded the left towards the meadows that were watered by the canal of Furnes, and interſected by ſeveral ditches; he had made five bridges of boats, in order to a communication between his troops and the Spaniards, and that they might be all drawn up in the ſame line. His Lieutenant Generals were the Counts de Coligni, Meilles *, la Suze, Perſan, and the Marquis de Boutteville: the whole infantry amounting to 15 battalions, all in one line, extended from the ſtrand to the meadows; the cavalry in the right wing was in two lines behind the infantry; that of the left wing could not be placed in the ſame manner. The Prince of Condé drew them up between the ſand-hills and the ditches in ſeveral lines, according to the ground which in ſome places would not allow of more than three or four ſquadrons in front. It was in this ſituation that the Spaniards perplexed, and uncertain of their fate, waited, without ſtirring, for the French. An. 1658.

Diſpoſition of the French army.

The Viſcount's troops, without reckoning thoſe which guarded the baggage and the trenches, amounted to 6000 Horſe and 9000 foot: his infantry was in two lines; the firſt conſiſted of ten battalions, and 28 ſquadrons, 14 in the right wing, and 14 in the left, with the canon at their head: the ſecond line conſiſted of ſix battalions and twenty ſquadrons, ten to the right and ten to the left. Four ſquadrons of Gendarmes ſupported the infantry, and ſix ſquadrons of reſerve were poſted at a good diſtance behind the army, that they might be ready to ſuccour the beſiegers in caſe of a ſally during the battle. The firſt line was about a league long, reaching from the ſea to the canal of Furnes. As the ſand-hills are not ſteep, but of an eaſy ſlope, the two lines in which the battalions and ſquadrons were

* Frederic de Foix, Comte de Meilles and de Gurſon.

An. 1658. drawn up, ſeemed to be almoſt quite ſtrait, notwithſtanding the unevenneſs of the ground. Turenne gave the right wing to the Marquis de Crequi, the left to the Marquis de Caſtelnau, and the main battle to the Marquis de Gadagne and the Marquis de Bellefond. General Lockart was at this time troubled with a fit of the gravel, Major General Morgan commanded the Engliſh, who were poſted towards the ſea, oppoſite to the Spaniards. The Count de Ligneville headed the Lorrainers; the Count de Soiſſons the Suiſſes, of whom he was Colonel General; the Marquis de la Salle the Gendarmes, and the Marquis de Richelieu the *Corps de reſerve*. The Count de Buſſi Rabutin performed the office of Maſter de Camp General of the horſe: the Duke of Bouillon and his brother the Count d'Auvergne ſerved, by the Viſcount's order, at the head of his regiment, only as volunteers, tho' the High Chamberlain had a regiment of his own. Several frigates from the Engliſh fleet drew near the coaſt, and fired continually upon the Spaniſh troops. Such was the order of battle on the French ſide.

The French army marches and attacks the Spaniards.

The two armies not being above a quarter of a league diſtant from each other, the Viſcount began to play his canon upon the enemy: as they had no artillery, they ſhould have come to a cloſe engagement as ſoon as poſſible, but they continued in their poſts, without ſtirring, all the time the French army was advancing towards them; it was obliged in paſſing over the Downs to mount and deſcend ſeveral times, and whenever the canon had reached the tops of thoſe ſand-hills, ſome vollies were given, ſo that the Spaniards ſuſtained four or five diſcharges. The French to avoid breaking their ranks in that uneven ground advanced ſo ſlow, that they were three hours in going the quarter of a league that was between the two armies. The Viſcount by this means had

had an opportunity of obſerving more exactly the diſpoſition, ſtrength and countenance of the Spaniards; and there was not a ſoldier in his army, who remarking their perplexed air, did not think and ſay, that they were beaten. It was eight o'clock in the morning when the French were approached near them; then the Viſcount having rectified what diſorder the march had occaſioned, appeared with that gay, calm air which inſpires confidence, and gave the ſignal for the charge. An. 1658.

The battle of the Downs; the defence of the right wing of the Spaniards.

The Engliſh were the firſt who attacked: as they were over againſt the high ſand-hill on which the Spaniards were poſted, Turenne ſent orders to Major General Morgan to drive them thence: at the ſame time he commanded the Marquis de Crequi to charge the enemy with his right wing, and the Marquis de Caſtelnau to march along the ſtrand with his left wing, and wheeling to the right, to fall upon them in flank. The Engliſh inſtantly mounted the ſand-hill with as much eagerneſs as proud confidence; the hill grew more ſteep towards the top; nevertheleſs they clambered up, the hindmoſt ranks helping up the foremoſt, and ſupporting them with the but-ends of their muſkets. The Spaniards defended themſelves for ſome time with their pikes, but were at length driven from their poſt, routed and put to flight. The Duke of York haſtening thither with his guards, rallied the Spaniards, ſurrounded the Cromwellians, and made ſeveral priſoners; not one of them would lay down his arms or aſk quarter: the French infantry quickly joined the Engliſh on the other ſide of the ſand-hill, and the regiment of Turenne advancing out of the line vigorouſly charged and broke two Spaniſh battalions, which fled and carried away with them the cavalry that were to have ſupported them. In the mean time the Marquis de Caſtelnau having marched the cavalry of the wing he commanded along the ſtrand,

An. 1658. ſtrand, not only took the enemy in the flank, but ruſhed between their firſt and ſecond line, charged them on all ſides, and threw them into great confuſion. Thoſe who ſurrendered were made priſoners, and the reſt put to the ſword. Hitherto the Viſcount had kept in the center of his army, from whence he ſent orders and troops as occaſion required: he obſerved from the tops of the ſand-hills all that paſſed, and perceiving that the Marquis de Crequi was puſhing on too far, haſted to his aſſiſtance. The Marquis had at firſt made the enemy's left wing give way, and had even puſhed it a hundred paces before him; but as he was followed by only four ſquadrons, the Prince of Condé's troops drove him back to the front of the right wing of the French army.

Defeat of the left wing commanded by the Prince of Condé.

* The Prince who was uſed to improve his advantages more than any body, would not loſe this. Putting himſelf at the head of a great body of horſe, with the General Officers, and all the perſons of Quality in his army, he charged the Marquis de Crequi and broke ſome of his ranks: he had like to have forced his way through the French, penetrated as far as Dunkerque, and ſuccoured the town after having loſt the battle: but the Viſcount coming that inſtant to ſuſtain Crequi, led the ſquadrons of the right wing to the charge himſelf, cauſed ſeveral battalions to advance, almoſt entirely ſurrounded the Prince's troops, and attacking them in front and in the two flanks at the ſame time, cauſed ſo furious a diſcharge to be made as opened their ranks in many places, where inſtantly the Count de Buſſy enter'd with freſh troops, making a terrible ſlaughter. Three times the Prince of Condé rallied his broken ſquadrons, but they being as often routed by the Viſcount, were weary of returning to the charge. Condé advanced yet once more againſt

* Hiſt. MSS. de l'Abbé Raguenet.

Turenne,

Turenne, and to reſtore his ſoldiers courage, expoſed his perſon more than he ought to have done; but all his efforts were ineffectual: his diſheartened troops all deſerted him except the French Noblemen, who with ſuch a Hero at their head, ſhunn'd no danger. The Viſcount ſtill puſh'd on with the ſame vigour; the Prince of Condé had his horſe killed under him, but one of his Gentlemen giving him his, he eſcaped; the Counts de Meilles, Coligni, Boutteville and Romainville, to favour his retreat, ſacrificed their own liberty, and were taken priſoners. As this defeat of the enemy's left wing happened almoſt at the ſame time with that of their right wing, their whole army immediately retired. An. 1658.

Turenne, without loſs of time, ſent away the Marquis de Richelieu with the reſerve to join the troops before Dunkerque, and enable them the better to withſtand any ſallies the beſiegers might make; and then proceeded to puſh the Spaniards, who every where quitted their poſts. They were driven with ſword and pike from the hills to the low grounds, where they might have rallied, but they choſe rather to have recourſe to the mercy of the French ſoldiers; who, as alſo the Lorrainers and other ſtrangers in the victorious army, ſpared the lives of thoſe who yielded; but the Engliſh would give no quarter: the runaways were purſued as far as the gates of Furnes, behind which place they retired. Four thouſand of the enemy were taken priſoners, and the reſt of their army ſo diſperſed and ſcattered, that they could ſcarce get 9000 men together during the remainder of the campaign. The French had very few ſoldiers kill'd or wounded, and no officer of diſtinction, except the Marquis de Caſtelnau, who died ſoon after of his wounds, with the poor conſolation of having been made a Marſhal of France, when he was not in a condition to enjoy the honours of that high poſt. The Viſcount after this

The Viſcount purſues his victory.

An. 1658. this glorious day, wrote the following ſhort letter to his Lady: *The enemy came to us, and God be praiſed they have been defeated; I was pretty buſy all day, which has fatigued me; I wiſh you a good night; I am going to bed.*

Turenne purſued the Spaniſh army no farther than Furnes; but having rallied his troops, returned the next day to the ſiege; he ſet at liberty twelve of the Prince of Condé's guards, and ſent them back to him, ordering the reſt of the priſoners to be conveyed to different places, and the ammunition taken from the enemy to be brought by the canal of Furnes to the camp before Dunkerque. There every one placed himſelf again in his former poſt. The Viſcount paſſed the night on horſeback for fear of a ſurprize, and made the pioneers begin ſome ſaps; theſe were made uſe of the next day in the approaches, which were carried on with all the confidence and reſolution that victory inſpires. The beſieged, tho' deſpairing of ſuccour, ſtill defended themſelves with the ſame vigour, and it was three days before the beſiegers could make a lodgment upon the counterſcarp, the foot of which they had reached before the battle: at length all the outworks being taken, the town ſurrendered the 24th of June, ten days after the battle, and eighteen from the opening of the trenches; it would have held out longer, if the Marquis de Lêde had not been mortally wounded. The King came from Mardyke to Turenne's quarter, where the hoſtages were given, and the capitulation ſign'd: the garriſon, which was reduced to 1000 foot and 700 horſe, marched out the next day, and was eſcorted to St. Omer. Louis XIV with all his Court entered triumphantly into Dunkerque; the town, according to the treaty with the Engliſh, was put into their poſſeſſion, and the Viſcount two days after marched to Bergues.

The

The battle of the Downs, and the taking of Dunkerque were exploits ſo great and ſo worthy of admiration, that Cardinal Mazarin (if we may believe a * writer of that time) was fond of having them aſcribed to him, and of deriving thence a glory to himſelf, like that which Cardinal Richelieu acquired by the ſiege of Rochelle: he diſcovered this weakneſs to his favourite the Count de Moret, and commiſſion'd him to negotiate the affair with the Viſcount; Moret's inſtructions were to prevail if poſſible with Turenne to write a letter, in which he ſhould give the Cardinal the honour of having projected the ſiege, and formed the plan of the battle; but this agent was to manage the matter dexterouſly, and rather inſinuate the thing than propoſe it. Moret knowing that diſſimulation was the ſure way to miſcarry in any tranſaction with Turenne, and being naturally averſe to artifice, frankly told him the Cardinal's deſire, and aſſured him, that whatever price he ſhould aſk for this complaiſance the Cardinal would grant it. The Viſcount, without heſitating a moment, anſwered, that the Cardinal might employ whatever means he thought fit to give the world a high opinion of his military ſkill, that he would never ſay a word to hinder it, but that he could not authoriſe a falſhood by any writing under his hand. How much ſoever the Cardinal was mortified by this anſwer, he could not forbear admiring the Viſcount's diſintereſtedneſs; a greedy politician would have thought it a fine ſtroke of management, to have ſecured the advantages of a Miniſter's favour, by making ſport with his vanity: but theſe low and mercenary arts were unworthy of Turenne †. An. 1658.

Two days after the ſurrender of Dunkerque, the Viſcount marched to beſiege Bergues. The firſt night after opening the trenches, the French took a redoubt The Viſcount takes Bergues.

* Langlade. † Mem. de Langlade.

An. 1658 redoubt which the enemy had made near their counterſcarp; the next Count Schomberg carried all the outworks, and made a lodgment upon the edge of the ditch. The town's people ſeeing ſome canon brought near their gates, ſent to capitulate; their propoſal was agreed to, but it was on condition, that the garriſon conſiſting of 900 men all veterans, ſhould remain priſoners of war. Theſe no ſooner underſtood what was to be their fate, but ſome of them threw themſelves into the moraſſes, in order to eſcape that way, and others would have plundered the town, but they were all ſeized and ſent into France by the way of Calais.

The Spaniards divide their army to garriſon their towns.

The Spaniſh army which had retired to Furnes, having advice that Bergues had capitulated, marched to Nieuport; and there immediately held a council to conſider what was beſt to be done. Dom John was of opinion to poſt the army along the canal, and diſpute the paſſage; no body oppoſed this project except the Duke of York, but he remonſtrated againſt it with ſome warmth; he urged to them, that they had not a ſufficient number of foot to defend that poſt againſt a victorious army; that the troops were yet under the impreſſions of their late defeat; that ſhould they be routed a ſecond time, the French would fall upon the great towns, and puſh their conqueſts even to Bruſſels; he propoſed therefore the dividing of the troops, and the diſtributing of them into the great towns that were the moſt expoſed, in order to keep the enemy employed in long and laborious ſieges to the end of the campaign; adding, that freſh forces might be got together the next year, and the war renewed with more ſucceſs. His counſel being approved, it was put in execution ſome days after; the Prince of Condé went to Oſtend with a body of troops ſufficient to defend that ſtrong place; the Duke of York and the Marquis de Caracena ſtaid in Nieuport with

2000 foot and 2000 horſe; Dom John with ſome infantry and a conſiderable body of horſe, threw himſelf into Bruges; and the Prince of Lignes with the reſt of the troops marched into Ypres *. An. 1658.

† Turenne receiving advice that the enemy had deſerted Furnes, and had left there only fourſcore men in garriſon, detached the Marquis de Varenne with 2000 men to beſiege the place; he went thither himſelf four hours after thinly attended, and ſummoned the city to ſurrender, threatning the inhabitants to plunder it if they made the leaſt reſiſtance. The Magiſtrates having opened their gates to him, he ſent away the garriſon to Nieuport, and returned on the morrow to his army which he had left before Bergues: without ſtaying there ſo much as one day to reſt himſelf, he marched expeditiouſly croſs the country to Fintelle in his way to Dixmuyde, where he had appointed the Marquis de Crequi, who was at Roſebrugh with a detachment to meet him. One third of the army ſwam croſs the river near fort Kenoque, in order to ſeize and carry off ſome cattle that were feeding in the neighbouring meadows. Early next morning the Viſcount keeping along the bank of the river Yper, arrived before Dixmuyde; this town which was in the center of the enemy's country had been much neglected, but they had begun ten days before to repair the fortifications of it. The Prince of Condé had ſtopped there in his way to Oſtend; and being ſenſible that he was not in a condition to defend it, had left there 400 men with orders to abandon it, in caſe the French croſſed the river; ſo that Turenne had no ſooner laid a bridge over the Yper, and ſent ſome troops over it to ſummon the place, but it ſurrendered. He was going to purſue his conqueſts, and puſh the enemy who durſt not keep the field, when the Cardinal ſent him word to ſuſpend all further enterprizes till new

Turenne ſeizes Dixmuyde, but the King's illneſs obliges him to ſuſpend his conqueſts.

3 July.

6 July.

* Duke of York's Memoirs. † Turenne's Memoirs.

orders,

An. 1658. orders, becauſe the King was fallen dangerouſly ill at Calais. The Miniſter was extremely uneaſy and apprehenſive for himſelf, well knowing that he was not beloved by the King's brother then Duke of Anjou, and preſumptive Heir of the Crown: in this agitation of mind he ſent the Count de Moret to the Viſcount with propoſals quite different from thoſe he had made him ſome days before: he begged, he intreated, he implored his friendſhip, and aſked him whether he might depend on him in caſe the King ſhould die. Turenne, whoſe conſtant guide was the good of his country, anſwered, that if ſuch a misfortune ſhould happen, he would repreſent to the Duke of Anjou, that it was for the intereſt of the State to continue the Cardinal in the Miniſtry. Mazarin was mightily for having him promiſe to ſend his troops to maintain his eminence in the poſt he poſſeſſed: but the Viſcount did not think proper to enter into any engagement which might be inconſiſtent with his duty *.

During the ten days that the alarm about the King's health laſted, Turenne continued near Dixmuyde in almoſt a total inaction; he only ſent the Marquis de Crequi forward to the neighbourhood of Nieuport with a large body of troops. The Spaniards who were beginning to intrench themſelves behind a canal half a league from the town, imagining that the King's whole army was coming to give them battle, retired and ſeparated. As they had neither ammunition nor proviſions, the Viſcount might have attacked them to advantage in that poſt, and intirely defeated them; but the King's ſickneſs hindred him, and the enemy by that means had time to diſtribute themſelves in the towns according to the Duke of York's advice.

Gravelin beſieged. In the beginning of Auguſt the King recovered his health, and returned to Paris. To finiſh by

* Mem. de Langlade.

ſome

ſome ſhining exploit a campaign that had begun ſo gloriouſly, Mazarin had ſent for Marſhal de la Ferté's army from Lorrain; it was already come as far as Lens, in order to join that of the Viſcount. The two Generals made a viſit to the Miniſter at Caſſel, where it was reſolved, that la Ferté ſhould attack Gravelin, and that Turenne ſhould cover the ſiege: the Viſcount ſent thither ſeven or eight regiments of foot under the command of Varenne, and ſtaid at Dixmuyde with his army. The trenches were opened at Gravelin fifteen days before the enemy thought of relieving it. They raiſed 4000 men in Brabant, aſſembled them near Bergues, and drawing near the Lys, joined the Count de Marſin's troops that were coming from the Dutchy of Luxembourg: they paſſed by Ypres, and halted at Poperingue, where all their Generals except the Duke of York were preſent. Turenne then changed the poſture of his army, and diſtributed it into different places. He ſent the Marquis de Crequi with a body of troops to Fintelle to make head againſt the enemy who were advancing towards Roſebrugh; he poſted ſome horſe and dragoons in fort Kenoque on the Yper to defend the paſſage over it; he ordered two brigades of horſe which he had left at Mardyke to march to Gravelin as ſoon as the enemy ſhould draw near it; he retired himſelf with the reſt of his troops under the canon of Dunkerque, from whence all the way to Furnes he poſted platoons up and down, but in ſuch wiſe that theſe ſmall bodies could all unite in a very little time, and mutually ſupport one another. The army remained in this ſituation to the end of the ſiege of Gravelin, which laſted ſix and twenty days: The French, beſide 900 men there kill'd or wounded, loſt the Marquis d'Uxelles, the Count de Moret, and the Marquis de Varenne, three faithful friends of the Viſcount's.

An. 1658.

30 Auguſt.

An. 1658. After the town was taken, the Spaniſh army retired to Ypres, and thence along the Lys. Mazarin who had ſtay'd at Dunkerque during the ſiege of Gravelin, returned to Court, and left the Viſcount the care of finiſhing the campaign as he pleaſed. La Ferté ſet out for France, leaving his troops with Turenne, who ſent away two or three regiments of foot to the camp before Hedin, where 20000 men under the command of Marſhal Schulemberg were guarding the frontiers, leſt the enemy ſhould march that way, in order to remove the war out of their own country. Lockart the Ambaſſador from England, ſtay'd at Dunkerque with a ſtrong garriſon, and Major General Morgan with 2000 Engliſh followed the Viſcount.

The Viſcount commands the army alone.

Turenne having given Count Schomberg ſeven or eight regiments to cover Dixmuyde, Furnes and Bergues, marched with the army to Thielt, intending to advance on the Lys and the Scheld. By thus leaving the enemy behind him, he hoped to make them jealous of the great towns of Ghent, Bruges and Bruſſels, and thereby oblige them to march far away from the Lys, that he might fall upon Oudenarde, Menin and Ypres. As ſoon as he arrived at Thielt, he detached Count Gaſſion with five or ſix regiments to Deynſe, with inſtructions to ſend out parties to Oudenarde to view the condition it was in. He ſtayed two days at Thielt, and then marched with ſome ſquadrons to the caſtle of Gavre: of 4 or 5000 men of the militia, who were to have been upon the banks of the Scheld to oppoſe his paſſing, there appeared but 300; and theſe ran away at his approach. Two hundred French dragoons ſwam croſs the river under the very caſtle, which ſo terrified the garriſon, that it inſtantly ſurrendered. After this the Viſcount ſent the brigade of Podwitz, and ſeveral other regiments of horſe over the Scheld, to courſe up as far as Bruſſels: theſe incurſions cauſed ſuch

The Viſcount marches to Thielt, and from thence to Oudenard, which he takes.

ſuch a fright, that the Spaniſh troops which were near Oudenarde, immediately marched away under the command of Dom Antonio de Cuéva to ſave the Capital. While the King's troops were at work in making a bridge of boats over the Scheld, the Governor of Oudenarde ſent to demand ſafe-guards: Turenne taking with him 1000 horſe and 200 dragoons, marched thither without delay, and threatned to beſiege the place if the gates were not opened to him. It was believed at firſt that the Governor would ſurrender; but he ſeeing the ſmall number the Viſcount had with him began to fire: upon which orders were inſtantly ſent to all the forces that were at Thielt to advance; they arrived early the next morning, and he made his rounds to take a view of the ground. While he was poſting the King's dragoons in a place by which ſuccours might come to the town, three regiments of horſe which the Prince of Condé had detach'd under Count Chamilli, came and attack'd the dragoons; but the latter kept their ground, repulſed the enemy, and took Chamilli priſoner with one half of his men. The town was ſoon after inveſted, and the trenches opened in three different places, but the beſiegers made no lines; in two hours time they approached a half moon, and were upon the point of taking it when the towns-people capitulated; and ſome regiments which had ſtolen into the place a little before Turenne inveſted it were made priſoners of war. An. 1658. 9 September.

The Viſcount was in ſuſpenſe for ſome time, whether he ſhould not march to Bruſſels; but having only a flying camp, without any heavy canon, and proviſions but for four days, he choſe rather to turn back, march into the neighbourhood of the maritime towns, (whence he might eaſily draw proviſions, thoſe places being abundantly ſupply'd by means of the ſea) and there wait a favourable opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of Courtrai, Menin, and perhaps Ypres. He ſurpriſes and defeats the Prince de Lignes near Ypres.

An. 1658. Ypres. He left in Oudenard two regiments of horſe and 400 foot under the command of Rochpaire, and marching up along the Scheld, made ſome boats be tow'd after him, as if he intended to beſiege Tournai, or penetrate into Brabant: he ſent orders at the ſame time to Gaſſion, who was at Deynſe to draw near; and when he had followed the road to Tournai a pretty while, fell of a ſudden upon Menin. Thirty troopers of his guard, whom he had ſent to view the condition of the place, brought word that the Prince de Lignes was within a league and a half, with 2000 foot and 1500 horſe: this Prince was coming from Ypres, and was to have thrown himſelf into Tournai immediately upon the Prince of Condé's departure thence to join Dom John near Bruſſels. Turenne ordered the Count de Roye and the Count de Melun, who were in the van-guard to go and attack the Prince de Lignes. The firſt troops they met with were thoſe of Droot and Louvigni, which they defeated; and being afterwards aſſiſted by the regiments of the Queen, Rennel, Crequi and la Ferté, which were headed by the Marquis d'Humieres and the Marquis de Gadagne, they puſhed the Spaniards to a bridge upon the Lys near Commines, and entirely routed them: of the whole detachment 600 horſe only eſcaped, 400 of which threw themſelves into Ypres with the Prince de Lignes, and 150 got to Liſle. The 2000 foot were cut in pieces, or made priſoners, and all their arms, colours and baggage taken.

He ſeizes Menin, beſieges and takes Ypres.

After this defeat, Turenne detached the brigade of Podwitz by the way of Menin (which being half raſed readily opened its gates to him) and St. Lieu by the Ghent-road towards Ypres. The army encamped that night near Menin, where Turenne left 1000 foot and 500 horſe, and at day-break marched forward for Ypres, the garriſon of which conſiſted of 700 horſe and 1500 foot. When he was come

before the place he aſſembled all his troops that had been diſperſed up and down in Flanders; ordered Count Schomberg to put Bergues, Furnes, and Dixmuyde in a condition of defence and come and join him with the remainder of his troops; and ſent to Marſhal Schulemberg to bring him a re-inforcement of 3000 men from the camp before Hedin. The beginning of the ſiege was no more than a blockade for want of inſtruments to break ground, ammunition and artillery. But Talon, Intendant of the army, going to Dunkerque and Gravelin brought from thoſe places every thing neceſſary for the ſiege; ſo that at length the trenches were opened, and five days after the town ſurrendered. The Viſcount granted an honourable capitulation to the Prince de Lignes, who marched out the next day with two pieces of canon, 600 horſe and 1200 foot: the enemy had not loſt more than three or four hundred men in the ſiege, but the French had 1200 killed or wounded by reaſon of the rapidity with which the works were carried on.

An. 1658.

26 Septemb.

Turenne, not to loſe time, detached 2000 men the very day of the capitulation, to attack the caſtle of Commines, and the next day he marched thither himſelf with the whole army. * Rutherford, Colonel of the regiment of Scots guards, made himſelf maſter of the fort in three days: the next day the army paſſed the Lys and encamped at Turcoin where it ſtaid five or ſix days to reſt and refreſh itſelf; after which it marched to Epiére, and ſtaid there almoſt four weeks, during which time great diligence was us'd in repairing the fortifications of Menin and Oudenarde. In the beginning of November, Dom John of Auſtria and the Marquis de Caracena having advice that the King's army intended to decamp, marched to-

He takes Gramont and Ninove. The campaign ends.

30 Septemb.

* Rutherford, Earl of Theviot, was the laſt Colonel of the Scots guards. It appears by father Daniel's hiſtory of the French militia that the regiment of Scots guards ſubſiſted in France only from the year 1643 to the year 1662.

An. 1658. wards Courtray with a body of horſe that had been brought from Ghent. Turenne inſtantly ſent Podwitz with 2000 horſe to ſieze upon Gramont which ſurrendered, and he himſelf marched and took Ninove. He had no intention to keep theſe two places, but only to make uſe of them while his army ſhould continue in the country for the conveniency of foraging, and in order to ſtraiten Dom John, and Caracena in Bruſſels, whither they were obliged to return a-new with a body of troops; he ſtaid in the country all the month of November, conſumed the forage, and put all under contribution. The army in the beginning of December re-paſſed the Lys at Harlebeck, and after the Viſcount had thus defeated and diſperſed the Spaniſh army, and put it out of a condition to keep the field, after he had taken twelve towns and ſubdued the whole country between the Yper, the Lys, and the Scheld, he left 100 troops of horſe and 5000 foot in the conquered places, marched back his army into France, and return'd himſelf to Court.

An. 1659. The motives to a peace between France and Spain.

The rapid conqueſts of the Viſcount alarmed the Catholick King and contributed to the bringing about a peace between the two Crowns. Spain was in fear, leſt the French become maſters of the Low-countries, ſhould carry their forces into the heart of that Kingdom, and conquer a country that was undefended by ſtrong towns, in much leſs time than they had ravaged the wealthy provinces of Flanders which abounds with fortified cities. * Moreover, the Queen looked upon the recovery of the King's health as a particular bleſſing from Heaven, and thought herſelf obliged to ſhow her thankfulneſs for it by putting a ſtop to the effuſion of Chriſtian blood: ſhe ſpoke of it with warmth to the Cardinal, and declared to him, that ſhe could not, without acting

* Nani, Hiſt. de la Republique de Venice, l. 8. Priorato della pace fra le due Corone. Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin.

againſt

againſt all the ſentiments of her heart and neglecting the true intereſts of her family and thoſe of France, refuſe a peace to her brother the King of Spain. Nor was this all. Cromwell being dead, the people of England, weary of their own frenzy, wiſhed to ſee Charles the ſecond upon the Throne of his anceſtors: the Duke of York loved France, and both the one and the other were deſirous to ſee a peace between the two Kingdoms. Laſtly, both in Spain and in France the cities were diſpeopled, the provinces deſolate, the treaſures conſumed, and the people oppreſſed; every thing ſeemed to call for a peace as the only remedy for thoſe miſeries under which all Chriſtendom laboured. Nevertheleſs there was a motive different from all theſe which chiefly determined Cardinal Mazarin. He had never entirely dropt the project of marrying the King to the Infanta Maria-Thereſa, who might be again preſumptive heireſs of the Crown of Spain by the death of the young Prince her brother, born ſince de Lyonne's negotiation. In order to bring the Court of Madrid into this ſcheme, he publickly gave out that he was going to conclude a marriage between the King and the Princeſs Marguerite of Savoye; and in reality he did carry the King in the depth of winter to Lyons, and prevailed with the Ducheſs of Savoye to come there with her two daughters. In the mean time he ſent privately to the Count de Fuenſaldagne, to let him know that the time was come either to prepare for an irreconcileable war, or conclude a peace by the marriage of the Infanta with Louis XIV. Fuenſaldagne then Governor of Milan diſpatched a Courier to Madrid, and the Court of Spain ſent Pimentel with all diligence to Lyons with advantageous propoſals: Mazarin accepted them, ſent the Ducheſs of Savoy back with her two daughters, and the Court returned to Paris. An. 1659.

An. 1659. The Cardinal had made but a ſlight ſketch of the treaty at Lyons, but Pimentel came in a ſhort time to Paris, and after ſeveral conferences with the Miniſter it was agreed, That the Cardinal on the one ſide and Dom Louis de Haro on the other, ſhould ſet out one from Paris the other from Madrid and repair to the iſle of Pheaſants in the Pyrenees, an iſland formed by the river of Bidaſſoa which is of no note but for being the boundary of the two Kingdoms. Two lodges were built in the iſland exactly alike, and at an equal diſtance from both was a common hall with two doors over-againſt one another, by which the two Miniſters were to enter at the ſame time each on his own ſide, two chairs were alſo placed over-againſt one another to prevent all pretence for diſpute.

Conference in the iſle of Pheaſants.

Shortly after, the two Miniſters arrived upon the frontiers, where the Spaniſh pride would in the decline of its power have diſputed for precedence; but the Cardinal knowing that it was contrary to good policy to retard an important negotiation for the ſake of a vain ceremonial, was ſatified with equality, to which the two parties tacitly conſented. The firſt conference was in the beginning of Auguſt, and in eight or nine meetings all was adjuſted. Theſe two Miniſters of ſuch different characters, the one ſtately, inflexible, but frank and open, the other complaiſant, ſupple and full of artifice, exhauſted all the ſtrength and ſubtilty of their Genius's, and in three months time did more than the mediators of all the nations of Europe had been able to effect in almoſt five years at the treaty of Munſter.

The principal articles of the treaty.

The preſent treaty conſiſted of 124 articles, of which the firſt related to commerce: after which it was ſtipulated that the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould marry the moſt ſerene Infanta Maria-Thereſa eldeſt daughter of the Catholick King, and ſhould have with her 500,000 gold crowns in portion. After theſe

eſſential

eſſential articles followed the regulation concerning the reſtitution of the Conqueſts made by the contracting powers in Flanders and Catalonia. The King of Spain engaged to pardon the rebellious Catalans and to renounce all pretenſions upon Alſace: then what related to the intereſts of the allies was ſettled; the Cardinal got the treaty of Queraſque confirmed, by which Pignerol was preſerved to the French: Spain reſtored Verceil to the Duke of Savoy; to the Prince of Monaco his demeſns which had been invaded; Reggio to the Duke of Modena, and to the Duke of Neubourg the city of Juliers which the Houſe of Auſtria had for ſeveral years paſt held in ſequeſtration. The Duke of Lorrain had the lot of a Prince whoſe conduct had been ever unſteady; he was not conſidered as either friend or foe; he was reſtored to his dominions, but it was upon condition that he ſhould demoliſh Nanci, and yield the Duchy of Bar, Moyenwic, Clermont, Stenai, Dun and Jametz to France, and for the future allow a free paſſage through his dominions to the troops which the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould ſend into Alſace. The Cardinal's attempts towards a reconciliation between Spain and Portugual were fruitleſs, he was obliged to leave the parties free to continue the war, and promiſe a neutrality on the part of France. The Prince of Condé's affair was the hardeſt of all to accommodate; the two Miniſters grew ſo warm in this diſpute that they were often upon the point of breaking off the conferences, rather than abate any thing of their reſpective pretenſions. The Cardinal nevertheleſs being ſenſible of what importance it was to the State, to bring back ſuch a hero as Condé to his allegiance, diſpoſed the King to pardon the Prince on condition that Spain yielded Avênes to France. An. 1659.

The Viſcount reſolves to ſend his aſſiſtance towards the King of England's reſtoration.

* During theſe negotiations there was an univerſal ſuſpenſion of arms; and the Viſcount took that opportunity

* Duke of York's Memoirs.

An. 1659. portunity to do an action worthy his love of justice. He understood that the Royalists in England had since the death of Cromwell taken up arms against the Republicans, the Partizans of Richard, son of the redoubted Usurper, and that the English fleet was in the Baltick; and finding that the peace with Spain was not only resolved upon but almost concluded, he thought the Restoration of a dethroned King would be equally glorious and advantageous to France. All these considerations join'd with the personal friendship he had for the Duke of York made him give way to his predominant passion for heroick actions. Having obtained the Court's consent he purposed at his own expence to assist the King of England in ascending the Throne of his ancestors: he requested the Duke of York to come to Amiens, and offered him his regiment of foot consisting of 1200 effective men, together with the Scots gendarmes; ammunition and arms for four or five thousand men; provisions to subsist them two months; ships to transport them into England; passports to embark at Boulogne the troops the Duke had in Flanders, and lastly all his credit for borrowing the necessary sums. The Duke of York having joyfully accepted these offers, Turenne sent him a letter for the King's Lieutenant at Boulogne, who had promised to furnish all the vessels belonging to the ports of his government even to his fishing-smacks. The Duke of Bouillon and the Count d'Auvergne, the Viscount's nephews, were to have accompanied the Duke of York as volunteers, and the very eve of the day fixed for the embarkation was already come, when certain accounts were brought of the defeat of the Royalists; this made it necessary to suspend for some time the execution of this project.

The Viscount enters into a correspondence with General Monk.

In the mean time the Viscount found means to enter into a correspondence with General Monk, the restorer of the Royal House of Stuart; and wrote to him the following letter.

SIR,

An. 1659.

SIR,

" THE Gentleman whom I ſent into England,
" and whom I deſired to make you my
" compliments, has receiv'd ſo many civilities from
" you that I think myſelf obliged to return you
" thanks for them. I am glad of this opportunity
" to entreat you would confide in what he ſays, and
" believe that, having of a long time conſidered
" your conduct, I have a particular eſteem for your
" perſon; you may likewiſe be aſſured that I will
" contribute all in my power to whatever you ſhall
" think convenient for you and for the eccleſiaſtical
" and political State of England, and that I have
" no other intention but to concur with candor and
" openneſs in every thing that ſhall be for the good
" of both. If you ſhall think fit to place an entire
" confidence in me I ſhall always act ſo as not to
" give ground for the leaſt ſuſpicion, and thoſe
" who wiſh the good and tranquillity of their coun-
" try will not find fault with my deſigns if you ap-
" prove of them; I believe you will not be diſplea-
" ſed with this compliment and with the aſſurance I
" give you of my being,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

TURENNE.

The concluſion of the treaty of the Pyrenees.

It appears by ſeveral other letters to the King of Great-Britain and the Duke of York that the Viſcount was in cloſe correſpondence with the Royaliſts in England, and that he contributed more than any other ſtranger to the happy Reſtoration of Charles the ſecond. In the mean while the articles of the treaty

An. 1659. treaty of peace between France and Spain and thoſe of the marriage of the King with the Infanta were conluded and ſigned the ſeventh of November: the war, which had laſted almoſt 24 years between the two Crowns, was now at an end. Alſace, Rouſillon, Artois and Flanders, became provinces of France. Mazarin by his negotiations and Turenne by his victories thus executed the principal part of Richelieu's plan, which was to extend the bounds of the French Monarchy.

The end of the FOURTH BOOK.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Viſcount de TURENNE.

BOOK the FIFTH.

THE Viſcount de Turenne having made ſuch diſpoſitions of the troops as the Court had ordered, went to wait upon the King, who was making a tour through the ſouthern provinces of his Kingdom, till the ſeaſon ſhould be proper for his meeting the Infanta upon the frontiers *. The young King, during his ſtay at Montpelier, had a mind to reward Turenne for the ſervices he had done his country, by honouring him with the firſt dignity in the gift of the Crown †; the Cardinal Miniſter acquainted him that the King would willingly revive on his account the office of Conſtable of France, if he himſelf would not put a bar in the way by his adherence to the Proteſtant Religion: but the Viſcount was not a man to be influenced by the allurement of honours in a matter wherein his conſcience was concerned. The King did not eſteem him the

An. 1660. The Viſcount is made Marſhal of France.

* All the particulars of this book are taken from the Viſcount's letters and inſtructions, the Memoirs of Fremont d'Ablancourt, Abbé Raguenet's hiſtory, the Dutch Mercuries, Puffendorf *de rebus Brandeburgicis*, Walkenier a German author, the Memoirs of the Marquis de la Fare, thoſe of Sir William Temple and ſeveral other contemporary authors quoted in the margin.

† See the funeral oration on M. de Turenne, by Maſcaron.

leſs

An. 1660. leſs for it, and not being able to confer upon him the office of Conſtable of France, he created a new one for him which entitled him to the ſame privileges; it was that of *Marſhal General* of the King's camps and armies, by letters patent dated the fifth of April *.

In a little time after, Louis XIV. left Montpelier and went to S. Jean de Luz, while Philip IV. having ſet out from Madrid came as far as S. Sebaſtian. About the beginning of June, the two Kings, attended by the chief Nobility of France and Spain, had a conference in *the iſland of Pheaſants*, and appeared in that deſert place with all the pomp that grandeur and luxury diſplays in the moſt magnificent Courts and the moſt flouriſhing Capitals. On the one ſide appeared Philip IV. of a venerable aſpect and more broken by cares than years; on the other ſide Louis XIV. in the flower of his age heightened the Royal Dignity by his majeſtick air. The Queen and the King of Spain her brother, who had not ſeen one another for five and forty years before, embraced with great tenderneſs and ſhed tears of joy: the two Kings likewiſe embraced, and afterwards preſented to each other the principal Lords of their Courts. The Viſcount de Turenne not being forward to make his appearance, the Catholick King deſired to ſee him; he looked upon him attentively and could not help ſaying, *There's a Man who has made me paſs many bad nights.*

The two Kings ſwore to the peace and ratified all that had been concluded by their Miniſters. The next day, Philip IV. gave the Infanta to Louis XIV. The celebration of the marriage, which had been performed at Fontarabia by the miniſtry of the Ambaſſadors only, was repeated with great magnificence at S. Jean de Luz.

* See the Authorities at the end No. X.

Several

* Several foreign Princes wrote to the Viſcount as they had done at the treaty of Weſtphalia, congratulating him upon the peace of the Pyrenees, and aſcribing it to his ſucceſs and victories. All Europe reaped advantage from this happy peace: the King of Great Britain was reſtored to his Kingdom, and the treaty of Oliva gave tranquillity to the Powers of the North; Portugal alone loſt all hopes of quiet. The Dutcheſs of Braganza the Queen Regent offered to hold her Kingdom as a fief of Caſtile, and in homage pay annually a million of money, furniſh 4000 foot, and eight ſhips of war: but the King of Spain perſuaded that Portugal now ſhe was forſaken by France, could not hold out a ſingle campaign, would not give ear to any accommodation, and flattering himſelf with the hopes of making a conqueſt of that Kingdom, made all his forces march thither under the command of Dom Louis de Haro.

An. 1659.

The King of Spain ſends his troops towards Portugal.

The Duke of Braganza King of Portugal being dead four years before, Louiſa de Guſman his widow governed the Kingdom during the minority of his ſons Dom Alphonſo and Dom Pedro. The Queen their mother had naturally a ſtrong inclination for whatever appeared heroick, and had contributed more than any one to the happy revolution of Portugal. † After the King's death ſhe ſaw herſelf without alliances, diſciplined troops or able Generals: but the ſuperiority of her genius, and the greatneſs of her courage, continually ſupplied her with expedients. The weight of affairs did not diſcourage her, ſhe aſſumed to her ſelf the whole authority of the Councils, extended her views to all the Courts of Europe from whence ſhe could draw any aſſiſtance, and ſent Dom Juan d'Acoſta Count de Soure to Paris, to treat with Cardinal Mazarin:

The Viſcount adviſes the King to aſſiſt Portugal againſt Spain.

* See the Vouchers No. X.

† Vertot's Revolution of Portugal.

The

An. 1660. The Minister, being unwilling to give umbrage to Spain, applied himself to M. de Turenne, who became the chief Manager in all the negotiations. The revolution of Portugal, which happened 20 years before, had transferred the Crown to the House of Braganza: Turenne, who was ever fond of procuring succour to distressed Princes, and who in this disposition had already stirred himself for the Restoration of Charles II. of England, thought it really for the interest of France to give a helping hand to the firm establishment of Dom Alphonso upon the Throne of Portugal *. He had with regret seen his progress stopt, when he was just upon the point of finishing the conquest of the Low-Countries, and the King by the peace of the Pyrenees deprived of the fruits of so many victories which had cost such immense treasures; he was afraid lest this treaty should give Philip IV. an opportunity to recover strength for renewing a war, which would again drain France of men and money, and that the reunion of Portugal to the Crown of Spain would too much increase the power of an enemy that was always to be dreaded. Thus the interests of France were connected with those of the House of Braganza.

The Count de Schomberg is chosen to command in Portugal.

Secrecy being necessary in this negotiation, the Portuguese Ambassador did not appear in publick; the Viscount made him be conceal'd in a country house of his nephew's the Duke of Albret, afterwards Cardinal de Bouillon: there he had several conferences with the Count de Soure, in order to be informed of the strength of Portugal, the condition of the towns and the troops, and the dispositions of the People and the Ministers. Being throughly instructed in every thing relating to the Kingdom, he concluded with Dom Juan d'Acosta a secret treaty, by which the King promised to send

* The Memoirs of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

troops,

troops, money, and even a General, to the aſſiſtance of the Portugueſe. The Viſcount caſt his eyes upon the Count de Schomberg to command in this expedition, and propoſed him to the Cardinal: this General being a German by birth, and of the Proteſtant religion, might ſerve the King of Portugal, without giving juſt ground of complaint againſt France. The negotiation was immediately known to the Queen Mother, who ſaid to the Viſcount, *Do you know, Monſieur de Turenne, that I can ſee over Spain into Portugal? but I ſhall not give my ſelf much trouble about it, for I have done what I deſired to do.* An. 1660.

The Count de Schomberg ſet out for Liſbon with eighty officers, Captains, and Subalterns, and above 400 troopers, all old ſoldiers capable to form new ones, and to command them; he went over into England, where he waited upon King Charles II. who was newly reſtored to his Dominions: he had private orders from the Queen Regent of Portugal to find out whether that Proteſtant Prince would be averſe from a marriage with the Infanta her daughter. Spain alarmed at this news offered the King of Great Britain to adopt and give a dowry to the Princeſs of Orange daughter of Frederick Henry, and couſin german to the Viſcount; but Turenne more concerned for the intereſt of his Country than the glory of his Houſe, preſſed the Count de Schomberg to haſten his negotiation. The Count managed matters with ſo much addreſs, that he brought the King of England to deſire the Infanta in marriage; he went afterwards into Portugal, from whence the Queen Regent ſent the Marquis de Sande to London to conclude the alliance.

An. 1661.

As ſoon as the Count de Schomberg was arrived at Liſbon, it was reſolved in Spain to ſend againſt him Dom John of Auſtria, and to recall Dom Louis

General Schomberg arrives in Portugal.

An. 1661. Louis de Haro, who was more a Politician than a General. Schomberg eſtabliſhed an exact diſcipline in the Portugueſe army, taught the ſoldiers the order they ought to obſerve in their marches, and the art of encamping to advantage. He cauſed regular fortifications to be made in moſt of the frontier towns that were without defence; he ſoon changed the face of affairs, carried on the war with vigor, and was ſucceſsful almoſt every where: he continued his correſpondence with the Viſcount de Turenne, who aſſiſted him with his counſels, and was the ſoul of all the political negotiations as well as of the military expeditions.

The Engliſh give up Dunkerque to the King.

The Marquis de Sande laboured with ſo much zeal for the concluſion of the marriage of the Infanta of Portugal with the King of England, that it was ſoon effected. France had the ſkill to draw a great advantage from this alliance, and from another match, which was concluded between the Princeſs Henrietta of England, and Philip Duke of Orleans the King's brother. Charles II. tenderly loved the Princeſs his ſiſter, and earneſtly deſired this laſt marriage: but he had no money to pay a dowry. Louis offered King Charles a very conſiderable ſum on condition he would give up Dunkerque to France; and this affair being tranſacted with as much diligence as ſecrecy, was almoſt as ſoon concluded as propoſed by the Viſcount de Turenne, to whom the King of Great Britain and the Duke of York his brother had great obligations, and with whom they always lived in great intimacy. Dunkerque was ſold to France for five millions of French Livres, the half of which ſerved to pay the Princeſs Henrietta's portion.

In a little time after * Cardinal Mazarin died; having for ſixteen years entire managed the affairs of the Kingdom, and ſhewed himſelf an able Mi-

* The ninth of March.

niſter,

niſter. He had appeaſed the troubles of the Fronde almoſt without ſhedding blood, more than once ſuffered baniſhment and proſcription, without loſing any thing of his authority, turned his heavieſt misfortunes into means of advancement, and diſconcerted the deſigns of his enemies, tho' they had at their head a Prince of the blood formed to conquer Kingdoms, and a turbulent Prelate capable of deſtroying them. If the Miniſter had to his great talents added more piety, diſintereſtedneſs and honeſty, thoſe who have allowed him the title of a great Politician could not have refuſed him that of a great man; after his Death Louis XIV. took into his own hands the reins of government, and in all important affairs at home and abroad, frequently conſulted the Viſcount de Turenne, who knew better than any man the ſituation, ſtrength and political intereſt of the Kingdom. Le Tellier, Lionne and Colbert were the King's Counſellors, and the executors of his orders; but it is certain that the Viſcount was the chief, and ſometimes the only confident of his deſigns *. An. 1661.

The King commits the management of the affair of Portugal to the Viſcount.

As ſoon as the Cardinal was dead, Turenne repreſented to the King, that the promiſe Mazarin had made to abandon Portugal, was the effect of weakneſs, and contrary to juſtice, to the law of Nations, and the protection which is due to an injured Monarch, and an oppreſſed people: he then remonſtrated to him the neceſſity of aſſiſting Portugal to preſerve its independence upon Spain, and to force the Catholick King to grant an honourable peace to the Houſe of Braganza: and laſtly, he made him ſenſible of the danger France would be in if ſhe ſuffered Spain to grow powerful again. The King was convinced by the Viſcount's reaſons, and gave him full power to employ what money he

* See the letters and negotiations between John de Witt Penſioner, and the Plenipotentiaries Van Buningue and Boreel, Vol. 2, 3.

An. 1661. ſhould judge proper for the aſſiſtance of the Portugueſe.

The Viſcount enters into a correſpondence with the penſioner de Witt.

The Viſcount then applied himſelf to cultivate a good intelligence between France and the United Provinces, by means of the credit which he had with John de Witt * Penſioner of Holland. The Penſioner concluded a treaty of commerce with France, by which full liberty was given to the two Nations to trade in each other's ports: by this treaty the French were guarantees to the Dutch for their fiſhing upon the Engliſh coaſt †; and the States General guaranteed to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the poſſeſſion of Dunkerque. The Count d'Eſtrades was afterwards ſent Ambaſſador into Holland, and Turenne drew up his inſtructions, which ſhew the perfect knowledge he had of the intereſts of France *. Shortly after, the States General enter'd likewiſe into an alliance with England, and obliged themſelves to repair the loſſes the Engliſh had ſuſtained in the Eaſt Indies from the ſhips of the Republick. Theſe two treaties with France and Britain eſtabliſhed a perfect peace in Holland, and united thoſe three Powers againſt Spain, in favour of the Houſe of Braganza.

An. 1662. Louis XIV gave 200,000 crowns to the King of England for the raiſing of 3000 foot and 1000 horſe, and continued to pay the like ſum annually for maintaining the troops commanded by the Count de Schomberg: moreover the King promiſed to raiſe and pay a French regiment of 1000 foot.

The Viſcount propoſes the marriage of the Princeſs de Montpenſier with the King of Portugal.

To unite the Portugueſe more cloſely with France, a marriage was propoſed between the Princeſs de Montpenſier and King Alphonſo IV. and the Viſcount ſent his Secretary Haſſet to negotiate that alliance at Liſbon; he gave him full inſtructions *

* He was a ſon of one of thoſe eight citizens whom the late Prince of Orange had impriſoned in the caſtle of Loweſtein.

† See the Authorities, No. XII.

* See the Authorities, No. 13.

with

with a letter of credit to the Count de Schomberg, who propoſed the match to the Queen, and ſhe agreed to it: as ſoon as the Viſcount was informed of it, he went to the Princeſs de Montpenſier, in order to ſound her inclinations with regard to the marriage; he made uſe of arguments, promiſes, and even threatnings on the King's part to perſuade her to it; but to no purpoſe: for beſides that ſhe had no mind to leave France, ſhe had been informed of the King of Portugal's Character *, who was of a mean underſtanding, a ſullen and untractable temper, and bad morals. The Queen his mother with grief foreſaw that ſo many ill qualities would make that Prince fall from his Throne, and that he would deſtroy through his incapacity the work of many years, and loſe the fruit of ſo much labour: ſhe more than once had thoughts of having him ſhut up, and his brother the Infant Dom Pedro put in his room; but all her wiſe projects were diſconcerted by the Count de Caſtel Melhor Alphonſo's Miniſter. The Count made the King be declared Major, took the adminiſtration out of the Queen's hands, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the management of affairs. An. 1662.

The Spaniards flattering themſelves that they could eaſily reduce Portugal that was governed by a weak and headſtrong Prince, ſet on foot a conſiderable army, and Dom John of Auſtria beſieged Evora, which he took in a few days. The Count de Villaflor was made General of the Portugueſe army; but all his ſucceſſes were owing to the valour and prudence of the Count de Schomberg, who gained a compleat victory over the Caſtilians. This great Captain found it leſs difficult to defeat the Spaniards, than get the better of the obſtinacy of the Portugueſe General, who thwarted all his deſigns, which ſo diſguſted Schomberg, that he was for leaving The King continues to aſſiſt the Portugueſe.

* Vertot's Revol. of Portugal, p. 357.

An. 1662. Portugal: but the Viſcount de Turenne ſent Fremont d'Ablancourt to Liſbon to promiſe the General a ſettlement in France, and ſupplies of men and money, and to determine him to continue in his office. D'Ablancourt was to ſtay with him, in order to reunite the Portugueſe Lords, to encourage them in their adherence to the Houſe of Braganza, and prevent them from enclining to any accommodation with Spain, by propoſing a match betwixt the Princeſs of Nemours and King Alphonſo, whom Gaſton's daughter continued to refuſe. The Viſcount by theſe means kept the Count de Schomberg and the Court of Portugal ſteddy in their reſolutions to maintain the war againſt Spain.

An. 1663. Philip IV. then turned his thoughts towards England, in order to draw her off from Portugal, and the Viſcount perſuaded the King to ſend the Marquis de Ruvigni to London, to keep Charles II. who was wavering and irreſolute, ſteddy to his engagements: he drew up new inſtructions for Ruvigni *, who executed his commiſſion with addreſs, and brought King Charles to conſent to ſupply the Portugueſe with troops and ſhips; Louis XIV. furniſhed money. The Count de Schomberg continued in his employment, commanded in chief the French, Engliſh and Portugueſe troops, and gained ſeveral advantages over the Caſtilians.

The Viſcount confirms the alliance between England and Portugal.

An. 1664. † The Court of Portugal deſirous to teſtify its gratitude to the Viſcount de Turenne for the many ſervices it had receiv'd from him, ſent the Marquis de Sande into France, with full power to treat of a Marriage between Febronie de la Tour d'Auvergne the Viſcount's niece and the Infant Dom Pedro the King's brother; and this alliance was ſo far advanced, that the articles of the contract were ſigned.

The match between Dom Pedro and the Princeſs d'Evreux broke off.

* Se the Authorities, No. 14.

† The Manuſcript Memoirs of Fremont d'Ablancourt, to whom that Negotiation was committed.

All theſe negotiations diſpleaſed the Miniſters, be- An. 1664.
cauſe affairs were not tranſacted in the Council, but in private with the King: they were afraid of the influence which Turenne had over his Majeſty's mind, and reſolved to put an end to his engagements and correſpondence with Portugal: and indeed they acted with great warmth againſt him, and to exaſperate and diſguſt him, contrived to break off the match with the Princeſs d'Evreux, who was married ſome years after to Maximilian the Elector of Bavaria's brother. The Viſcount ſhewed no reſentment; and being leſs mindful of the intereſt of his Family than that of the State, he continued to influence the King to aſſiſt Portugal, in order to prevent the reunion of that Kingdom to the Crown of Spain.

In the mean while England and Holland began to quarrel anew; the Engliſh Merchants complained to the Parliament of the inſults the Dutch had offered them in the Eaſt Indies, and on the coaſts of Africk. Some time after, the Engliſh Captains committed ſeveral hoſtilities in Guinea; the Dutch ſent Van Beuningue into France, to demand of the King an effectual mediation, and the guarantry which he had promiſed. They ſent alſo Ambaſſadors into Sweden and Denmark, to bring the two Kings of the North into their intereſts; but all theſe negotiations were fruitleſs. War was declared betwixt An. 1665.
England and Holland; Charles II. equipp'd a fleet of 107 ſhips, commanded by his brother the Duke of York; and the Republick oppoſed to it another of 103 ſhips. A naval engagement enſued upon the coaſt of England; the Duke of York defeated the Dutch, and might have made himſelf maſter of the ſea if he had purſued his victory. After this defeat the King of France was openly preſs'd to join either the one party or the other: he had recourſe to the Viſcount de Turenne for advice,

England declares war againſt Holland.

An. 1665. who preſented him a memorial *, wherein he diſcovers his great judgment, and the extent of his views; in that memorial he endeavoured to perſuade the King to offer his mediation between the two Powers. This advice was followed, but without ſucceſs; the war continued between the Republick and England, and each party fitted out new fleets.

The King of Spain's death.

During theſe hoſtilities, Philip IV. fell ill, and the King again conſulted M. de Turenne what reſolutions were proper for him to take †. In a ſhort time after the Catholick King died of a bloody flux, and Louis XIV laid before the Court of Madrid his pretenſions to the Low Countries; he did all in his power to obtain juſtice by negotiation before he made uſe of force: as he was afraid leſt the union between the Engliſh and the Portugueſe ſhould determine the latter to make peace with Spain, he ſent S. Romain to the Court of Liſbon, and ordered the Viſcount to give him inſtructions which ſerve to unfold the whole management and ſecret of the affairs of Portugal *.

The King declares for the Dutch againſt England.

The ſecret engagements which the Engliſh had with Spain, and the efforts they uſed to bring the Portugueſe to make peace with his Catholick Majeſty diſpleaſing Louis XIV. and he being ſenſible that he ſhould ſtand in need of the friendſhip of the Dutch, if he carried the war into the Low Countries, yielded at length to Van-Beuningue's powerful ſollicitations, and declared for the Republick againſt England; he gave the Duke of Beaufort Grand Maſter and Super-intendant General of the Navigation of France all the neceſſary orders for putting the fleet in a condition to act in the Channel. The Engliſh fitted out ſeventy ſhips under the command of General Monk Duke of Albemarle,

* See the Authorities, No. 15.
* See the Authorities, No. 17.
† See the Authorities, No. 16.

and

and put aboard of them 23000 ſoldiers and ſailors, and near 5000 pieces of canon: The Dutch fleet conſiſting of more than a hundred ſail, carried 22000 men, and 4600 pieces of canon. Two bloody engagements were fought in the month of June; but the French fleet could not join the Dutch before either of thoſe two actions. The Duke of Beaufort had ſtayed in the river of Liſbon, waiting for the Princeſs of Nemours his niece, who was to be married to the King of Portugal, and whom the Spaniards intended to intercept: hence * ſome took occaſion to ſay, that Louis the XIVth's deſign was to animate the two maritime Powers againſt each other, that he might raiſe himſelf upon their ruins. The uprightneſs of the King's intentions may be ſeen in the Viſcount de Turenne's inſtructions to the Marquis de Bellefons, who was ſent into Holland to agree with the States upon the junction of the two fleets: and indeed the Duke of Beaufort being arrived in the month of July near Breſt, had orders to go to the coaſt of Normandy to join the Dutch, who were advancing to Dunkerque; but the winds hindred his coming up with them; and he was obliged to lye by till the next campaign. An. 1665. An. 1666.

This year died the Viſcounteſs de Turenne, whoſe virtues cannot be enough admired: though ſhe had ſeveral conferences with the Doctors of the Catholick Church, yet ſhe continued under the prejudices of her education as long as ſhe lived. The Viſcount was extreamly affected with her death; nothing could equal his grief, but the ſincere tenderneſs he had for her. The death of the Queen Mother Anne of Auſtria, which happened at the ſame time, made the King turn his thoughts in good earneſt to a war with Spain, and to the making effectual his pretenſions to the Low Countries. He from that time conſidered of the meaſures proper to be taken The death of the Viſcounteſs de Turenne, and of the Queen Mother.

* See Baſnage, annals of the year 1666, p. 773.

againſt

An. 1666. againſt the Emperor, and conſulted the Viſcount, who drew up a memorial, wherein he fully laid open the ſtate of the Empire, the political intereſts of the Princes of Germany, and the means to hinder Leopold from paſſing the Rhine *.

The King makes alliances with ſeveral of the Princes of Germany.

The King put in execution the Viſcount's advice, and began by threatning with his ſevereſt diſpleaſure the Biſhop of Munſter, who was at war with the United Provinces, if he did not agree to a peace: the Prelate being terrified became pliant, and treated with the Dutch. His Majeſty then ſecured the alliance, or the neutrality of other Princes of Germany, who treated with him or his allies during the courſe of this year. The Count de Furſtemberg was employed on the King's part to negotiate with thoſe Princes, and there are among the Viſcount de Turenne's papers ſeveral ſchemes for uniting with France the Elector of Cologne, the Elector of Brandenbourgh, the Duke of Neuburgh, the Duke of Lunenburgh, the Count de Valdeck and ſome others.

An. 1667. Before the King declared war, he brought the Engliſh and Dutch to make peace, with a view to prevent the former from joining Spain, and to put the latter in a condition to aſſiſt him. An alternative propoſed by the Viſcount de Turenne was the ground-work of this peace: that was, either that a general or mutual reſtitution ſhould be made of all that had been taken during the war, or that each party ſhould keep what they poſſeſſed, and that all pretenſions ſhould be given up on both ſides; this laſt method was agreed upon as the ſureſt and the moſt eaſy: the treaty was concluded and ſign'd at Breda the laſt day of July. After the concluſion of the peace between France, England and Holland, the Viſcount adviſed the King to make a treaty of alliance with the Swedes, and engage them to keep

The peace of Breda.

* See the Authorities, No. 18.

in

in the Biſhoprick of Bremen 12000 men ready to enter the Empire, if Leopold ſhould declare war againſt France *. An. 1667.

The King having thus taken all his precautions with Sweden, England, Holland and Portugal againſt Spain and the Emperor, began to put in execution the deſign he had laid of making himſelf Maſter of the Low Countries. In the month of March, the troops he had appointed for that expedition, advanced to the frontiers of Champagne and Picardie, under pretence of having as uſual great reviews, where the troops encamped as regularly as in time of open war. Towards the end of April the King prepared to take the field, named the general Officers, diſtributed the money for the artillery and proviſions, commanded all the Officers to get ready their equipages, and in ſhort gave all the neceſſary orders for beginning the war. Theſe preparations put all Europe in commotion: Louis XIV. was accuſed of aſpiring to be univerſal Monarch, of violating the peace of the Pyrenees, and of intending to rob the King of Spain his brother in law of the Dominions which belonged to him. Theſe reproaches no leſs unjuſt than inſulting, obliged Louis in the beginning of May to publiſh a manifeſto, printed copies of which were ſent all over Europe, particularly to Madrid and Bruſſels. Preparations for war.

The King pretended that by the right of *Devolution*, which takes place in the Low Countries, Cambreſis, Burgundy and Luxemburg, all thoſe territories fell to the Queen upon the death of King Philip IV. her father: by virtue of which right the children of the firſt marriage, male or female, inherit before thoſe of the ſecond. The municipal cuſtoms, and the decrees made by the great Council of Mechlin authoriſe this law; the Dukes of Brabant and Charles V. himſelf ſubmitted The ſubſtance of the King's Manifeſto.

* See the Authorities, No. 19.

An. 1667. mitted to it, tho' they had power ſufficient to overrule it. As the Queen of France Mary Thereſa was the only remaining child of Philip IVth's firſt marriage, the King's pretenſions ſeemed to be well founded. * A cotemporary writer aſſures us, that this cuſtom of the Low-Countries had not been remarked by any of the French Civilians, and that the Viſcount de Turenne was the firſt who ſpake of it to the King.

The King aſſembles his troops upon the frontiers.

Louis XIV. before he took the field, made propoſals a ſecond time to the Queen Regent of Spain for an accommodation. All his pacifick meaſures proving fruitleſs, he ſaid to the Viſcount de Turenne, *That he would march in perſon at the head of his army, and learn the art of war under him.* The Viſcount gave orders to the troops to advance to the frontiers in ſeveral places, from the Meuſe to the ſea of Calais, yet ſo as that they could reunite in five or ſix days.

The King leaves Paris, puts himſelf at the head of his army, and takes ſeveral towns. May 20.

The King having declared that in the courſe of the campaign he would follow no other advice but that of the Viſcount Marſhal General, ſet out from Paris, and came to Amiens. Having made the Queen Regent during his abſence, and appointed her a Council, in which the Chancellor Seguier and the Marſhal d'Eſtrees preſided, he determined that the main body of the army, conſiſting of 25000 foot and 10000 horſe, ſhould attack Flanders in the middle, and that there ſhould be two flying camps upon the ſides, the one in Luxembourg, under the Marquis de Crequi, and the other towards the ſea, under Marſhal d'Aumont; the Duke of Noailles was ſent to his government of Rouſſillon with ſome regiments, in order to guard that Province. This diſpoſition of the troops was no ſooner made, but the main army had orders to march to Charleroi on the Sambre: on their approach the

* Mem. MSS. de Fremont d'Ablancourt.

Mar-

Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo Governor of the Low-countries made the fortifications (which were but juſt finiſhed) to be blown up, and abandoned the place. The King guided by the Viſcount de Turenne ordered them to be immediately rebuilt, poſſeſſed himſelf of Binche and Ath two towns ſituated between the Sambre and Scheld, defeated ſeven or eight hundred men who deſigned to throw themſelves into Tournai, beſieged that town which held out but two days, marched to Douai on the river Scarpe, took the town and its fort in ſeven days, advanced towards Oudenarde on the Scheld, which ſurrendered in 24 hours, ſeized upon Aloſt on the Denre, and then went and beſieged Liſle; during which time the Marſhal d'Aumont on his ſide made himſelf maſter of Bergues, Furnes, fort S. Francis, Armentieres and Courtrai. An. 1667.

The ſiege of Liſle is reſolved upon.

* The ſiege of Liſle appeared ſo difficult that the Marquis de Louvois would have diſſuaded the King from it. The Spaniards had taken all methods to fortify that town, it was defended by fourteen Royal Baſtions, ſurrounded with double ditches; the garriſon conſiſted only of 3000 foot and 1200 horſe of regular troops, but the inhabitants able to carry arms amounted to 20,000 men. The Governor was an officer of great experience, and there was abundance of ammunition and proviſions in the town, ſo that it was in a condition to make a long and vigorous defence. The King's army was very much diminiſhed by the ſieges which it had made and the garriſons it had left in the conquered places. The Count de Marſin who commanded the Spaniſh troops in Flanders had got together a body of 6000 men in order to throw ſuccours into Liſle, which being large required lines of circumvallation of a great extent. All theſe obſtacles though they were continually exaggerated to the King, could not make

* Hiſt. Milit. de Louis le Grand and an account of the war in Flanders by Vandoeuvres in 1667.

him

An. 1667. him deſiſt from his intention; he had a mind to finiſh the campaign by an enterpriſe, the difficulties whereof would encreaſe the glory of the ſucceſs. Having ordered all preparations to be made for this ſiege he detached the Marquis d'Humieres to inveſt the place while the Count de Liſlebonne and the Count de Lorges blocked up the avenues with the troops of Lorrain.

10 Auguſt. Liſle taken. At length the King arrived and ſet the men to work at the lines of circumvallation; as they were but ill man'd becauſe of their extent, and as the Spaniards were marching to throw ſuccours into the town, he made the Marquis de Crequi come to the ſiege with his flying camp. The Count de Croui who was Governor of the town, having burnt the ſuburbs and taken the oath of the citizens, ſent to compliment the King and to deſire he would acquaint him on what ſide he encamped that he might not fire upon his quarters: Louis thanked him for his complaiſance and ſent him word that his quarters would be throughout all his camp. The beſiegers were eight days in making their lines, providing faſcines and getting together the neceſſaries for

19 Auguſt. opening the trenches; which was done in two different places the night of the eighteenth day of the ſiege: after five vigorous ſallies wherein the beſieged were ſtill repulſed and wherein nothing memorable happened, the town ſurrendered the ninth day from the opening the trenches. The articles of the capitulation having been agreed upon and ſigned, the garriſon marched out the 28th day in the morning to the number of 1700 foot and 800 horſe, and were conducted to Ypres. During the ſiege the King made M. de Turrenne accompany him into the trenches and explain to him the reaſons of the works: the troops encouraged by the preſence of their King and by his example and unwearied application, acted beyond their duty and forced that great town to ſurrender

render ſo quickly. The young Monarch made his entry into it the ſame day that the beſieged marched out; he took an oath of fidelity of the magiſtrates and burghers, and confirm'd their privileges. An. 1667.

The defeat of the troops which intended to throw themſelves into Liſle.

The Count de Marſin and the Prince de Lignes, not knowing that the town was taken, were advancing in order to throw ſuccours into it: the King being informed of their march, detached the Marquiſſes de Crequi and Bellefonds with ſeveral ſquadrons, and followed them himſelf with a great body of cavalry in order to ſupport them: the Prince de Lignes and Marſin hearing of the ſurrender of the place, retired. The Marquis de Crequi coming up with them, fell upon their rear-guard and entirely defeated it; while the Marquis de Bellefonds, ſuſtained by the King, attacked their army which was likewiſe routed. In this action there were taken 1500 priſoners, eighteen ſtandards, and five pair of kettle-drums: the King returned ſoon after to Paris and left the command of the army to the Viſcount de Turenne, who prepared to march to Bruſſels.

The Dutch make preparations by ſea and land, and the King of Portugal is married.

* The Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo ſeeing that moſt of the towns ſurrended without any reſiſtance, repreſented to the States of Holland the intereſt they had in the preſervation of the Low-Countries and the urgent neceſſity of aſſiſting the Spaniards. The States aſſembled extraordinarily and ſought all means to ſtop the King's progreſs without declaring openly againſt him: gratitude obliged them to ſupport his intereſts; but it was dangerous to contribute to the deſtruction of the bulwarks of their country. They ſecretly levied troops which they diſtributed on the frontiers, gave orders for fitting out a fleet of forty ſhips and iſſued out commiſſions for arming 25,000 foot under pretence of guarding their country.

* See Baſnage, annals p. 815.

More-

An. 1667. Moreover to preſerve the Government in its republican form, they drew up, in a convention held at the Hague, the *perpetual Edict* againſt the *Stadtholdership:* it was ſubſcribed and ſworn to by all that were in publick offices, and even by the Prince of Orange William III; and the States by this oath thought themſelves ſecure of that young Prince, who by the great hopes that were conceived of him gave uneaſineſs to Penſioner de Witt's faction which governed the Republick. In the mean time Spain terrify'd at the progreſs of the King's arms in Flanders, ſought to make peace with Portugal with a view to employ all her forces in the Low-Countries; France to obſtruct the peace, again offered troops to the Portugueſe, and concluded a marriage between the Princeſs d'Aumale and the King of Portugal.

An. 1668. A triple alliance between England, Holland and Sweden.

On the other hand the King of England, alarm'd at the rapidity of Louis XIV.'s Conqueſts, ſent into Holland Sir William Temple, the ableſt politician and the moſt expert in negotiations of any in Europe, in order to rouze the attention of the States General. Temple propoſed a triple alliance between England, Holland and Sweden, to oblige the two Crowns of France and Spain to make peace: he drew up the plan in one night, and the negotiation was ended in five days: the treaty was agreed to the 23d of January, ſigned the 7th of February, and ratify'd the 25th of April. The news of this triple alliance aſtoniſhed the King: he complained of the Engliſh and Dutch who had concealed their proceedings from his Miniſters; he could not eaſily forget what the States General had been doing; and this treaty was the ſource of thoſe famous wars againſt the Republick which broke out four years after.

While this alliance was forming, Louis made his troops file off towards Franche-Comté and gave the Prince of Condé the command of them: this was the firſt mark of favour that the King had conferr'd upon

on him ſince the civil wars. It was believed, and that not without reaſon, that it was at the ſollicitation of the Marquis de Louvois that the Prince was employ'd: the Miniſter jealous of the confidence with which the King honoured Turenne, had a mind to ſet up Condé againſt him in order to diminiſh his credit. The Prince felt his martial ardour return when he ſaw himſelf at the head of an army, the command of which intimated an oblivion of his paſt conduct: he aſſembled his troops, entered Franche-Comté, made himſelf maſter of it in ten days and obtained the Government of it for a reward. An. 1668.

In the mean while the Dutch, Engliſh and Swedes had ſent their Plenipotentiaries to Aix-la-Chapelle to reconcile France and Spain. The King propoſed an alternative, and offered peace on condition that he either ſhould be left in poſſeſſion of all his conqueſts in the Low-Countries, or that Franche-Comté together with Cambray, Aire and St. Omer ſhould be yielded to him. Spain, one would think, ought to have accepted of the latter of theſe propoſals and yielding to the French a country which lay commodiouſly for them, kept a very ſtrong barrier for the ſecurity of her provinces in Flanders: but ſhe choſe rather to leave all the great towns of the Low-Countries expoſed to the French who might make themſelves maſters of them in a ſingle campaign. Caſtel-Rodrigo by a fineſſe in politicks, determined the Court of Madrid to follow this method, hoping that if France ſhould one day yield to the temptation of poſſeſſing herſelf of the reſt of the Low-Countries, this exceſs of ambition would oblige the Engliſh and Dutch to aſſiſt Spain, unite againſt France and renew the war: the Dutch ſaw with uneaſineſs that reſolution and uſed all their efforts to croſs it. While the Spaniards were in ſuſpence how to govern themſelves, the King made 100,000 men march to the frontiers; this Army he divided into The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

An. 1668. three corps; with one of which he intended to penetrate as far as Bruſſels; the Duke of Orleans at the head of the ſecond was to beſiege Oſtend, and the Prince of Condé was to enter the Province of Luxembourg with the third. The Republick arm'd on her ſide to give weight to her mediation, and hired of the Duke of Lunenburg 3000 foot and ſix regiments of horſe. Louis XIV. diſſembled his reſentment againſt the States-General till he could draw off the Engliſh from their alliance. On the other hand Spain fearing to loſe all the Low-Countries, haſtened the concluſion of the peace, which was ſigned the ſecond of May at Aix-la-Chapelle: by this treaty Spain gave up to the King Courtrai, Bergues, Furnes and all the country ſince called French Flanders, on condition he reſtored Franche-Comté.

A peace concluded between Portugal and Spain.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was preceded by that of the Court of Liſbon with Spain, which at length acknowledged the independence of the Crown of Portugal. King Alphonſo was confined in the iſles of the Terceres for his incapacity, his marriage was declared null under pretence of impotence, and the infant Don Pedro was raiſed to the Throne after marrying the Queen his ſiſter-in-law: thus ended the long wars of Portugal which had laſted almoſt 30 years: the quarrels between Spain and France for the Low-Countries ceaſed, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe Chriſtendom a long and perfect tranquillity.

The Viſcount embraces the Catholick Religion.

The calm which Europe enjoyed after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle allowed the Viſcount a great deal of leiſure; he employed it wholly in the ſtudy of Religion, which he had long reproached himſelf for not having thoroughly examin'd. From the time of the peace of the Pyrenees, he had begun to have doubts about Calviniſm. The accounts he had frequently had from the Engliſh during his intercourſe with them, of the multitude of ſects that over-ſpread

Great-

Great-Britain had ſtruck him exceedingly. In one of his letters to the Viſcounteſs de Turenne, * ſpeaking of this diverſity of opinions; *It is evident*, ſays he, *that by peoples aſſuming too great a liberty of judging for themſelves, though they may have good ſenſe and perhaps devotion, they have ſo much disfigured Religion that every one forms a ſect according to his private opinion.* The progreſs of his diſtruſt and doubts appears in ſeveral other letters, but the high idea he had of the Viſcounteſs's ſuperiority of underſtanding, and the fear of diſturbing in any meaſure the harmony between them, retained him in his firſt engagements notwithſtanding ſome ſparks he had diſcerned of a convincing light. It was not till after the death of his Lady, that having nothing to reſtrain him he conſulted his own reaſon and converſed often with the famous Abbot Boſſuet afterwards Biſhop of Meaux, whoſe profound knowledge made him worthy of ſuch a proſelyte: 'tis ſaid that it was for his inſtruction that this Prelate wrote his *Expoſition of the Faith*, a book very much admired. However that be, Turenne ſoon perceived, by his conferences with that great man, that the multitude incapable of reaſoning ought to be guided by authority; that every wiſe legiſlator when he publiſhes a written law muſt eſtabliſh a ſure interpreter to fix the meaning of it, and that without ſuch ſubordination, every one would, with the book of the law in his hand, diſpute about the ſenſe of it, and interpret it after his own manner. Turenne feeling the force of theſe truths, and diſtinguiſhing between principles and the abuſes of them, forms and fundamentals, falſe devotion and true piety, maintained his heroic character even in Religion: ſo long as he was not convinced, no human views, no motives of ambition, no temporal intereſt could prevail with him to change his Religion, but as ſoon as he ſaw the truth, he yielded to it, An. 1668.

* Letter to the Viſcounteſs de Turenne. No. VIII.

An. 1668. ſacrificing his reputation to the unjuſt ſuſpicions of thoſe who accuſed him of acting from political views unworthy of a great ſoul. He made his abjuration before the Archbiſhop of Paris, and, to avoid the oſtentation which would have attended that ceremony if his deſign had been publickly known, he did not acquaint him with it till the evening before he put it in execution.

The Viſcount's conduct after his converſion.

The Viſcount being then perſuaded that his conduct and manners ought to be ſuitable to the purity of his faith, practiſed all the civil, moral and Chriſtian virtues, diſcovering his love to God by his charity for men: external forms did not in him ſupply the place of virtues, he was nevertheleſs an exact obſerver of all the ceremonies of publick worſhip and gave on all occaſions remarkable proofs of his piety. Being now a true worſhipper in ſpirit and in truth, he was not contented with changing his way of thinking, he likewiſe changed his manner of living. Being one day at confeſſion, the Prieſt aſked him if he had not relapſed into a fault which was habitual to him before his converſion; *I have never broke my word to man*, anſwered the Viſcount, *ſhall I then prevaricate with God?* Being more and more enlightned by faith, and the practice of all Chriſtian virtues, he looked into the inviſible world, and conſidered the great things appointed for man in the ages to come: by degrees objects transform'd themſelves, and appeared to him in a different point of view: wars, conqueſts and the moſt important affairs which weak human creatures are buſied about, ſeemed to him employments below the grandeur of an immortal Being made for the poſſeſſion of the infinite Good. He then intended to retire from the world, and devote himſelf wholly to the contemplation of eternal truths; the King oppos'd his reſolution, and Turenne checked the impulſes of his piety by a ſuperior piety, and reſpected the order of God in the will of his

his Maſter: but he ſtill preſerved his love of ſolitude. An. 1668.
Being free from thoſe paſſions which make men fond of Courts, he ſpent his time in the ſociety of a ſmall number of choſen friends, whom he ſcarce ever left but to pay his duty to the King. He was no leſs to be admired in his private than his publick life; ſtudy and converſation were his chief amuſements; * he took delight in men of ſound learning and judgment, but deſpiſed thoſe fine ſpeakers who endeavour to ſhine by turns of wit and who talk of every thing without being maſters of any thing: he had a taſte for works of imagination where the wit was lively and natural, loved to read uſeful books and diſcourſed of them with pleaſure but without affectation. He kept a conſtant table, but mode- An. 1669.
rate and frugal: he loved to be gay at meals; he then liked pleaſantry, being himſelf facetious but ſtill with prudence and politeneſs: few people knew more ſtories or could tell them better. He thus lived at Paris with great plainneſs, like a hero of antient Rome who never diſtinguiſhed himſelf by outward pomp †.

A young country Gentleman who did not know the Viſcount, one day, when there was a ſtop in the ſtreets of Paris, ſtruck his coachman: a tradeſman, with a cudgel in his hand, came out of his ſhop, crying out, *How now, what, treat M. de Turenne's people in this manner!* At that name, the young Gentleman quite out of countenance came to the door of the coach to make his excuſe to the Viſcount, who ſaid to him, ſmiling, *You underſtand very well, Sir, how to correct ſervants; allow me to ſend mine to you when they do amiſs.* He went frequently a-foot to hear maſs, and then took a turn alone upon the rampart of Paris, without his ſervants or any exterior mark to diſtinguiſh him. One day in his walk he paſſed near a crowd of tradeſmen who were playing at

Several admirable paſſages of the Viſcount's life.

* Mem. de Langlade. † Manuſcript hiſtory by the Abbot Raguenet.

An. 1669. bowls; and who, without knowing him, called upon him to judge of a caſt; he took his cane, and having meaſured the diſtances, gave his opinion: the man whom he had determined againſt abuſed him; the Marſhal ſmiled, and as he was going to meaſure the ground a ſecond time, ſeveral officers who had been ſeeking him came up and accoſted him; the tradeſman was confounded, fell down upon his knees and begged pardon; the Viſcount anſwered him, *Friend, you was in the wrong to imagine that I would cheat you.* He went ſometimes, tho' ſeldom, to the publick ſhows. He was one day alone in a box in the play-houſe when there came in ſome country Gentlemen, who, not knowing him, would oblige him to give them his ſeat in the firſt row: upon his refuſing, they had the inſolence to throw his hat and gloves upon the ſtage; without being moved he deſired a young Lord of the firſt quality to gather them up for him. Thoſe who had inſulted him finding who he was, bluſhed and would have retired, but he ſtopped them and with a great deal of good humour told them, that *if they would contrive and ſit cloſe there was room enough for them all.* Thus this Hero mixed often with the croud but ſtill maintained his character. Coming home one night he fell into the hands of robbers who ſtopt his coach upon the rampart of Paris: on his promiſing them 100 Louis d'Ors to let him keep a ring of a great deal leſs value, they returned it, and one of them had the boldneſs to go to his houſe next day and in the midſt of a great company to whiſper him and demand the performance of his promiſe: the Viſcount ordered the money to be paid him, and before he related the adventure let the robber have time to eſcape, adding, "That a promiſe ought to be kept inviolably, and that an honeſt man ſhould never break his word though given to knaves.

The

The Viſcount, after ſeveral years of repoſe, was obliged to reſume his office of General during the wars with Holland, the reaſons of which we muſt here unfold and at the ſame time lay open the intereſts of the ſeveral powers who then declared for or againſt the United Provinces. An. 1670. The riſe of the wars between France and Holland.

After the independence of the States General had been acknowledged by Spain in the beginning of the laſt century *, the Republick of Holland reached the higheſt pitch of glory and greatneſs: her people being active and laborious had cultivated commerce in the midſt of war: their veſſels covered the ſeas and imported marchandize from both ſides of the globe. Amſterdam was become the ſtorehouſe of Europe and the richeſt city in the univerſe; Holland alone contained three millions of ſouls and the other Provinces were peopled in proportion. The States General having poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral Iſlands and Kingdoms in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, had encreaſed their ſhips to twelve thouſand veſſels †. They ſent Miniſters and Conſuls to China, Siam and Bengal, to the Great Mogul, the King of Perſia, and the Princes of Africk, to the Levant, the Grand Turk, Moſcovie and even Tartary. This proſperity in diſtant countries might perhaps inſpire the Dutch with the ambition of aggrandizing themſelves in Europe. This Republick which had raiſed herſelf by invariably purſuing the maxims of a perfect prudence, moderation and frugality, was accuſed, perhaps without ground, of ſtirring up the people of Germany, England and the Low-Countries to ſhake off the yoke of Kings, and change the Monarchies into Commonwealths. The triple alliance which the States General had formed gave cauſe likewiſe to ſuſpect that they propoſed to ſet bounds to the conqueſts of Louis XIV. What alarmed the King yet more was the apprehenſion leſt they ſhould

* April 12. 1609. † Walkenier. Sir William Temple.

An. 1670. ruin the manufactures of this Kingdom, and the trade of the French in the Indies. The Penſioner de Witt, his brother, and their party did all they could to remove theſe prejudices, but the unhappy differences which then reigned in the United Provinces, rendered fruitleſs the endeavours of the two brothers. The Prince of Orange's party not ſo well affected to France, and the imprudence of Van-Beuninguen the Dutch Ambaſſador at the King's Court, increaſed the jealouſies and diſtruſts. It became the wiſdom of Louis XIV. to be very watchful of the meaſures of William II. Prince of Orange, who would naturally neglect nothing for the aggrandizing of his Family and of a Republick founded by his anceſtors.

The King endeavours to break the triple alliance.

After various fruitleſs negotiations, the King reſolved to break with the Dutch, being convinced that the new leagues and alliances they were forming were in reality againſt him. He ſought all means to diſſolve the triple alliance and began by endeavouring to draw off from it King Charles II. of Great-Britain. He communicated his ſecret to the Viſcount de Turenne and employed him in the management of that important negotiation. The ſignal ſervices which this great General had done the Houſe of Stuart both before and after Cromwell's death, had procured him the intimate confidence of the Ducheſs of Orleans, Charles II's ſiſter. Louis entirely changed his conduct with regard to Henrietta of England, whom he had often treated with indifference, and ſhe in a ſhort time appeared to have great intereſt at Court. The Viſcount ſaw daily at her houſe a young Lady of great beauty and of yet greater wit: as ſhe was the Ducheſs's favourite, he thought it neceſſary to gain her friendſhip in order to ſecure the continuance of that of her miſtreſs. Being ſincerely perſuaded that he loved only the Lady's wit, he let himſelf be enſnared by her charms: and

and ſhe forgot nothing that might engage him. Turenne did not diſtruſt the ready ſervices of a young perſon who ſeem'd to look upon him rather as her father than a lover: he did not diſcern the ſource of his growing affection; by degrees his ſentiments of friendſhip changed into the paſſion of love; and at length neither the age nor the virtue of this great General were ſufficient to ſecure him againſt a weakneſs too common and often fatal to Heroes. His confidence in the Lady increaſed with his love; and under pretence of making her uſeful in his political projects, he diſcovered to her the ſecret of the State: ſhe entred into the intrigue, and ſerved as a Mediatrix with the Princeſs Henrietta. An. 1670.

Generous conduct of the Viſcount.

The Duke of Orleans was not well pleaſed with the great influence he ſaw the Ducheſs his wife was gaining over the mind of the King, and ſuſpected that ſhe was carrying on ſome affair of conſequence; but not being able to gueſs it, he apply'd himſelf to the Chevalier de Lorrain his favourite, and employed him to find out the myſtery. The Chevalier was the moſt agreeable Prince, and had the moſt wit of any body at Court; he attacked the young Marchioneſs, and ſhe could not reſiſt the pleaſure of telling him a ſecret. The Duke of Orleans broke out in paſſion againſt his wife, complained to Louis of the unworthy manner in which he was treated, and let him underſtand that he knew all that was intended to be concealed from him. The King who had diſcovered his mind to no body but the Viſcount de Turenne and the Marquis de Louvois, being ſure of Turenne's diſcretion, told him that Louvois had revealed his ſecret. The Viſcount always true, and always generous even in the midſt of his weakneſſes, juſtified Louvois, and confeſſed his own fault. This candour charmed the King, and he redoubled his confidence in a man that choſe

rather

An. 1670. rather to diſcover his own ſhame than ruin a Miniſter whom he might well be allowed not to love. Turenne broke off all correſpondence with the young Marchioneſs, would ſee her no more, and all the reſt of his life bluſhed at the remembrance of that adventure. It is reported that the Chevalier de Lorrain having a mind to talk to him of it ſome years after; *Let us begin then*, ſaid the Viſcount, *by putting out the lights.*

The King of England departs from the triple alliance.

* The Ducheſs of Orleans nevertheleſs ſtill continued her negotiations with her brother the King of Great Britain, and it was thought neceſſary in order to finiſh them that ſhe ſhould go over into England. It was of importance to conceal her journey; and the better to cover it, the King gave out that he would go and ſee his new conqueſts in Flanders: he ſet out from St. Germain en Laye about the beginning of May, and taking his Court along with him went to Oudenarde, Courtrai, Liſle, Dunkerque and Gravelines. Henrietta of England made uſe of the pretence of being ſo near, to pay a viſit to her brothers King Charles and the Duke of York: ſhe embarked at Calais, and arrived at Dover, where ſhe ſaw the King of Great Britain. Henrietta's negotiation was ſucceſsful. The King her brother promiſed to quit the triple alliance, and ſhe came back triumphant to Paris about the middle of June. Having retired to St. Cloud to enjoy the fine ſeaſon, and for the benefit of her health, ſhe was accompanied thither by the Viſcount de Turenne, the Duke of Rochefoucault and ſeveral other Lords: ſhe died in a few days after with all the reſolution of a Heroine, and the ſentiments of a perfect piety. The Court loſt by her death a Princeſs that knew how to diſtinguiſh merit and reſpect it: the Viſcount was ſo much afflict-

* The Memoirs of Sr William Temple.

ed

ed that he had a mind to retire from the world, but the King hindered him. An. 1670.

Whilſt the Miniſters of France were labouring in England to draw off Charles II. from his alliance with the Swedes and Dutch, Louis poſſeſſed himſelf of Lorrain. Duke Charles the 4th always reſtleſs and ſuſpicious, had a mind to enter into the triple alliance, and endeavoured by all means to ſtrengthen it by engaging the Princes of Germany in it; being a ſecond time ſtript of his Dominions, he retired firſt to Cologne, and then to Frankfort, to wait there for better fortune. The King ſiezes upon Lorrain.

The year 1671 was ſpent in negotiations with the Emperor, Spain and Sweden, with the Electors of Cologne and Brandenburgh, with the Biſhop of Munſter, and ſome other German Princes, to hinder their entring into the triple alliance, or adhering to it. Chriſtopher Gaalen Biſhop of Munſter, a Prelate of a turbulent ſpirit, ambitious and covetous, ſaw with uneaſineſs the ſucceſſes of the Dutch: and dreading their power he publiſhed throughout the Empire, that under pretence of mediation, juſtice or protection they had made ſeveral uſurpations upon the Counties of Stirum, Culembourg, Benthem and Eaſt-Friſeland: that they had ſeized upon Raveſtein on the Meuſe, on Borkelo in the County of Zutphen, and ſome other places in Over-Iſſel, which belonged to his Biſhoprick; that by fomenting the revolt amongſt his ſubjects, and endeavouring to force him to diſband his troops, they hoped to extend by degrees their authority over the Eccleſiaſtical Princes of the Roman Communion: nay, puſhed on by his animoſity, he went ſo far as to accuſe them in his manifeſtos, as he had already done in his private diſcourſe, of openly aiming at the deſtruction of the Monarchical and Catholick States; he propoſed a treaty with France, and preſſed the Elector of Cologne to join with him. An. 1671. The diſpoſitions of the Biſhop of Munſter, who enters into an alliance with France.

The

An. 1671. The Elector of Cologne of the houſe of Bavaria being weak through age and infirmities, and having applied all his thoughts to devotion and chymiſtry, entirely neglected the management of affairs, and gave up himſelf to the councils of Egon de Furſtemberg Biſhop of Straſburg, and Prince William of Furſtemberg his brother: they perſuaded him to unite with France, in order to reconquer Rhinberg and the other places uſurped from the Electorate of Cologne.

The Elector of Cologne likewiſe joins with France.

The King treats with the Emperor and Sweden.

The King ſigned a treaty with thoſe two German Princes, who alone could open to him the gates into Holland upon the Meuſe and the Rhine, furniſh him with magazines and places of arms, in a country diſtant from his dominions, and facilitate to him a ſure retreat, in caſe his expedition ſhould not have the ſucceſs he hoped. The Princes of Furſtemberg and the Commander Gremonville the French Miniſter at Vienna had orders to uſe all their endeavours to keep the Emperor neutral, who looked upon the Dutch as ſubjects revolted from Princes of his family, and as irreconcilable enemies of the Catholick Religion. Thus his reſentment and his religion conſpired to hinder him from taking part with the Dutch; and the Furſtembergs artfully * making advantage of his diſpoſitions, repreſented to him, that the power of the Dutch was very great, and their country advantageouſly ſituated; that the French would find a good deal of difficulty in making conqueſts there; and that by his refuſing to give any aſſiſtance to the Dutch, he would oblige them to reſtore all the places which belonged to the Princes of the Empire. The Emperor ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, and wrote to the Biſhop of Straſburg that he approved of the league which the Elector of Cologne and the Biſhop of Munſter had made, and even he himſelf, before the end of the year, concluded a ſecret treaty with France, by which he promiſed

* Baſnage and Walkenier.

promiſed not to aſſiſt the States General, provided the King did not make any attempt upon the territories of the Empire or Spain. France carried on her negotiations with equal diligence at the Court of Sweden, in order to bring the Council of Charles XIth's Regency to break with Holland, and prevailed ſo far as to obtain a ſtipulation, that if the Emperor, or any Prince of the Empire ſhould aſſiſt the Republick, the troops of Sweden ſhould enter into the heart of Germany and join the French army, in order to force thoſe Princes to obſerve the Peace of Weſtphalia. An. 1671.

Such were the principal views of the Powers in league againſt Holland, not to deſtroy but to curb her. The King had a mind to make himſelf maſter of all the towns and fortreſſes on the Meuſe, in Brabant and in Flanders, which belonged to the Dutch: The Biſhop of Munſter wanted to retake all his places in Over-Iſſel and Zutphen: the Elector of Cologne, Rhimberg and all the places dependant on his Electorate; and the King of England deſigned to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome Iſlands in the County of Zeland for the ſecurity of his trade.

The only Prince of the Empire, who openly intereſted himſelf for the Republick, was Frederick William Elector of Brandenburgh. The countries he poſſeſs'd, the troops he had on foot, and his Court filled with Princes, Lords and Officers of all Nations, made him employ himſelf continually in ſearch of means to encreaſe his glory and power. The Peace of Weſtphalia had hindred him from extending his Conqueſts in Germany, and retaking Pomerania from the Swedes: but he had of a long time aſpired to be Stadtholder of Holland; and tho' that office had been ſuppreſs'd ſix years before, yet he flattered himſelf that he was able to obtain it, to make it perpetual in his family, and to bring the Dutch under his yoke either by force or addreſs. The diſpoſitions of the Elector of Brandenburgh.

An. 1671. With this view he connived at their uſurpations on the country of Cleves, did not demand the great ſums of money that were due to him, let them poſſeſs ſeveral of his towns, intereſted himſelf in their quarrels with their neighbours, rejected the propoſals of ſeveral Princes of the Empire, and even thoſe of France, and endeavoured by all methods to procure the friendſhip and confidence of the States General: As ſoon as they acquainted him by their Envoy with the menaces of France and England, he offered them his aſſiſtance, and concluded a treaty with them, whereby he promiſed to ſend them an army of 25000 men.

The diſpoſition of Spain.

During this interval, Beverning the Dutch Ambaſſador at Madrid diſconcerted all the projects of France, and engaged the Queen of Spain to furniſh money and troops to defend the United Provinces: ſhe ſoon ſent 6000 men, who landed at Oſtend, with orders to the Count de Monterei Governour of the Low-Countries to employ them in the ſervice of the Republick. Thus was the face of Europe entirely changed: France and England, who had contributed to the raiſing and aggrandizing the Republick, were now endeavouring to ruin her: Spain on the contrary, who had been for an age attempting to deſtroy the Dutch as revolted ſubjects, was now their chief ſupport.

The ſituation of the Republick before the war.

The Republick of Holland had been of a long time divided into two factions: the head of one was the young Prince of Orange William the third. His partizans were for re-eſtabliſhing the Stadtholderſhip in his perſon, reſtoring to his family all its ancient dignities, and rendring the young Prince as powerful as his predeceſſors. His party feared the greatneſs of France, and thought that none but William the third could ſet bounds to Louis XIVth's ambition. The heads of the other faction were the Penſioner John de Witt and his brother Cornelius, great

great Bailiff of Putten: theſe two brothers lov'd France, and were ſenſible that the King was abler to protect the Dutch againſt the Engliſh and the Elector of Brandenburgh, than either Spain or the Empire, which at bottom were equally their enemies. This latter party had at firſt the upper hand in the Councils, but contented themſelves with ſending orders to Pierre de Groot Ambaſſador in France, to uſe all his efforts to diſcover the King's intentions. Groot who excelled in politicks as much as his father did in learning, ſent them word that he foreſaw a terrible ſtorm, but that the States General might nevertheleſs diſpel it, if they would prevent the King by ſome ſubmiſſions, and teſtify a ſincere deſire of renewing their alliance with him. An. 1671.

The Dutch being terrified wrote to the King, endeavouring to appeaſe his wrath; but Louis gave them an anſwer which left them no room to doubt of his deſigns. They then thought of nothing but to provide for the ſecurity of their Provinces; they cauſed to be built a very great number of flat bottomed boats mounted with canon, to guard the Scheld, the Meuſe, the Vahal, the Iſſel and the Rhine, and to ſhut up all the approaches to their country. They had leſs to fear by ſea, becauſe the Republick was very ſtrong in ſhipping; her treaſuries were filled with money; but ſhe wanted ſoldiers; four and twenty years of peace had conſumed all her old troops, and rendered Holland fitter for trade than war. There were no great things to be expected from the levies that ſhould be made in the United Provinces: raw ſoldiers were not a fit match for diſciplin'd troops. The States diſpatched new Couriers to Germany, Spain and Denmark to haſten the arrival of the ſuccours they expected thence.

An. 1672.

Louis XIV cauſed an army of 100000 men to march towards the Rhine. The Elector of Cologne

The King divides his troops into four corps.

An. 1672. logne opened all the paſſages through his territories, delivered up Nuys and ſeveral other poſts to be made magazines of arms, and the Biſhop of Munſter aſſembled all his troops in order to enter by Weſtphalia into the northern Provinces of Holland. Before the opening of the campaign and the declaration of war, the King judged it proper to divide his army into four corps, and at the ſame time to name the Generals that were to head them. He reſolved to command the firſt in Perſon with his brother the Duke of Orleans in quality of Generaliſſimo; the Viſcount de Turenne had the next rank after him, and the title of Captain General: the Prince of Condé was to lead the ſecond; the Marſhals d'Humieres and Bellefonds were under him: the Marſhal de Crequi headed the third; and the fourth was to march into Weſtphalia, under the conduct of the Duke of Luxembourg, to join the Biſhop of Munſter's troops. The King, to prevent the conteſts which might ariſe on account of rank and precedency in command, ordered, that in caſe the different armies ſhould happen to join in the abſence of the Princes of the blood, the Marſhals d'Humieres, Bellefonds and Crequi ſhould follow the orders of the Viſcount de Turenne during the expedition.

The Marſhals de Crequi, Humieres and Bellefonds refuſe to obey.

The three Marſhals refuſed to obey and were baniſhed. The publick ſaw nothing in the King's order that was not due to the Viſcount de Turenne's ſuperior merit; and a very able Magiſtrate of that time * made appear, in a letter written to the Marſhal de Crequi, that Louis the XIVth's predeceſſors had often commanded the Marſhals of France to obey perſons who were not Princes of the Blood. The Marſhals continued in baniſhment ſix months, and the King would not admit them again into his ſervice, but at the inſtance of the whole body of the Marſhals of France, who declared that their three

* M. de Caumartin,

diſgraced

diſgraced companions might and ought to ſubmit *. An. 1672.

The levies made in the United Provinces, tho' all the militia of the country was armed, were not comparable to the King's army: but when it came to be debated who ſhould command the Dutch troops, the diviſions which tore the Republick were greater than ever. The Prince of Orange's partiſans propoſed the abolition of the *perpetual Edict*, and the raiſing of that Prince to the dignity of Stadtholder; the friends of the de Witts oppoſed it, but they could not prevent his being at leaſt choſen *Captain General* by land, and *High Admiral* as his predeceſſors had been. † William the third, who was then but two and twenty years of age, was for immediately evacuating many places where the Dutch to no purpoſe kept garriſons, which, tho' not ſtrong enough ſeparately to reſiſt the enemy, might form a powerful army under one Leader; but he was not Maſter to execute this project, and continued for ſome time General without an army. While he was waiting for the ſuccours expected from Germany, Denmark and other places, he got together fourteen regiments of horſe, and ſeven of foot, gave out commiſſions for putting all the Provinces in arms, ſent the new levies into the ſtrong towns to encreaſe their garriſons, put all the navy offices in motion, fitted out a fleet of ſeventy two ſhips, and entruſted the command of it to the famous Ruyter, who was confirmed in the office of Vice Admiral and Commandant in chief of the naval forces of the Republick. Eight Deputies were choſen to repreſent the States General in the expeditions; the firſt was Cornelius de Witt the Penſioner's brother, who had orders to go aboard the fleet with Ruyter: the ſeven others followed the Prince of Orange to aſſiſt him with their counſels.

The Prince of Orange being declared Captain General and High Admiral of Holland aſſembles his troops.

* See the Authorities, No. XX. † Walkenier.

An. 1672. Many hoped that William the third's new dignity would encline the King of England his uncle to return to the triple alliance: but that expectation was fruſtrated. Louis XIV. and Charles II. declared war againſt the States General by Manifeſtoes of the ſeventh of April. A month after, the Elector of Cologne and the Biſhop of Munſter followed the example of thoſe two Kings.

The Kings of England and France declare war againſt the United Provinces.

The ſtorm being ready to fall on all ſides, the Dutch put themſelves in a condition of making a ſtout defence. As they had but a ſmall number of land forces they waited for the French, and did not go to meet them: their frontiers were, ſo to ſpeak, thick ſet with fortreſſes and fortified towns. The Meuſe, the Rhine and the Iſſel ſeemed made on purpoſe to hinder acceſs to the Country: The Meuſe being defended by ſtrong towns ſituated on its banks, and the Rhine by its rapidity and depth, the Dutch contented themſelves with drawing a line along the banks of the Iſſel * from Arnheim to Zutphen. A country bordering upon the ſea, encloſed by three rapid and deep rivers, divided by canals, and eaſy to be overflowed, ſeemed to them ſecure from all attacks. The Count de Monterei being perſuaded that the French would fall immediately upon Maeſtricht, put the Spaniſh and Walloon cavalry into that place, the garriſon before conſiſting of 10000 veterans. The Prince of Orange having got together an army of 25000 men, advanced to the banks of the Iſſel, and the Dutch fleet went and lay at the mouth of the Thames to oppoſe the naval forces of England and France, which amounted to 150 veſſels. All Europe was attentive to the firſt motions of two powerful Kings ſeconded by the greateſt Captains of their age.

The Dutch name their General officers, and make all preparations for war.

* The Iſſel is a branch of the Rhine made formerly by Druſus, of a canal which that Roman dug to fortify his camp: but the water of the Rhine having got into it, by length of time made itſelf a channel.

Louis

Louis accompanied by the Duke of Orleans ſet out from St. Germain en Laye about the end of April, and came to Charleroi, where his army was encamped along the banks of the Sambre: it was compoſed of three and twenty companies of gendarmes, life-guards, muſqueteers and chevaux legers, two regiments of the French and Swiſs guards, ſix and forty regiments of French infantry, fourteen regiments of foreign infantry, and ſixty regiments of light horſe or dragoons: they amounted in all to about one hundred and ten thouſand fighting men ſumptuouſly cloathed. They were divided into two corps: of the principal, which was called the King's army, and was compoſed of eighty thouſand men, the Duke of Orleans was Generaliſſimo, and the Viſcount de Turenne Captain General: the ſecond commanded by the Prince of Condé, conſiſted of 30000 men. The Lieutenant Generals in the King's army were the Duke de la Feuillade, the Counts of Soiſſons, de l'Orge, du Lude and de Chamilli, and the Marquiſſes of Gadagne and Rochefort: the Major-Generals were the Chevaliers de Lorrain and du Pleſſis, du Martinet, de Montal and de Fourille. The Prince of Condé had under him as Lieutenant Generals, the Count de Guiches, and the Marquis of Saint Abre and Foucault †: His Major-Generals were the Counts of Pleſſis, Nogent, Magaloti and Choiſeul, and the Marquis de Vaubrun. An. 1672. The King ſets out for the army.

Holland could not be attacked but by two places, the Rhine and the Meuſe. The Generals and the Miniſters differed in their ſentiments: the former were for beſieging Maeſtricht, in order to be maſter of the Meuſe, enter into Dutch Brabant, hinder the junction of the Spaniards, and make a place of arms of that town. The latter thought that enterpriſe uſeleſs, and of too great an expence, and were for marching towards the Rhine, in order to encourage The King reſolves to attack the Meuſe and the Rhine at the ſame time.

† Antony Foucault Lord of Etras.

An. 1672. the allies of France, penetrate into the heart of Holland, and facilitate afterwards the taking of towns upon the Meuſe. After ſeveral deliberations, the King by Turenne's advice reſolved to attack the Meuſe and the Rhine at the ſame time.

The Viſcount takes Maſeick, and diſſuades the King from ſtopping to beſiege Maeſtricht.

Two days after Louis's arrival at Charleroi, the Viſcount marched with an advanced guard of 20000 foot and 2000 dragoons to inveſt Maſeick *, and make a general magazine there, after enlarging its fortifications. That town, tho' it be one of the dependencies of the Biſhoprick of Liege, of which the Elector of Cologne was Sovereign, refuſed, by the orders of the Chapter of Liege, to open its gates to the Viſcount, and the inhabitants put themſelves in a poſture of defence, tho' they had no garriſon. Turenne, after ſummoning them a ſecond time, cauſed his batteries to be erected; the Magiſtrate was obſtinate and made the canon of the town to be fired. The beſiegers anſwered them very warmly for a whole day; but the next day the inhabitants being frightned, forced the Burgo-Maſter to ſurrender the

May 15. town. The Viſcount having got poſſeſſion of this important poſt, ordered ſeven baſtions to be raiſed there, together with a citadel on this ſide of the Meuſe, and a horn-work on the other ſide, in order to cut off all communication between the United Provinces and Maeſtricht, which by this means was rendered uſeleſs to the Dutch: he left Chamilli at Maeſtricht with 4 or 5000 men to take care of the fortifications, and returned with the reſt of the troops to rejoin the King, who lay encamped with his army near Viſet, four leagues from Maeſtricht in a great valley along the Meuſe on this ſide the river. The Prince of Condé, who had marched with his army by way of the Ardennes, arrived the nineteenth day in the morning at the Abbey of Robermont, a league and a half from Liege and three

* Walkenier.

leagues from the camp. After dinner the King held a Council with the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé and the Viſcount de Turenne. * The Prince a ſecond time propoſed to beſiege Maeſtricht before they went any further: but the Viſcount again repreſented that that ſiege would be long, difficult and dangerous; that it would diſcourage the army in the beginning of a great expedition; that it would give time to the Dutch to get together all their forces, and to their allies to come to their aſſiſtance; and laſtly, that the taking of Maſeick having cut off all communication between Holland and Maeſtricht, it was ſufficient to block up that town, while in the mean time a ſecure paſſage ſhould be opened acroſs the country of Cleves into the United Provinces. The Viſcount's opinion prevailed in the Council, and it was reſolved to advance towards the Rhine, in order to beſiege Veſel, Rhimberg, Orſoi and Burick at the ſame time. Theſe four towns ſituated on the banks of the Rhine pretty near one another, all well fortified and defended by good troops, were reckoned the principal entries into Holland. The King's army marched along the Rhine while that of the Prince of Condé paſſed it at Keiſerſwart. The Dutch did not ſeem at firſt much moved at the King's approach; they hoped that his attempts upon the country of Cleves would engage the Elector of Brandenburgh, as the moſt intereſted, quickly to take the field; and at the ſame time ſtir up the Emperor to oppoſe Louis's progreſs in the Empire. They were not much troubled at the taking of towns which did not belong to them, and were only under their protection.

An. 1672.

On the firſt of June the Viſcount de Turenne arrived with 12000 men before Burick, the Prince of Condé before Veſel, and the King together with the Duke of Orleans having taken the ſame rout,

Veſel, Burick, Orſoi and Rhimberg are beſieged, and ſurrender to the King.

* The Dutch Mercury, and the Abbot Raguenet's Hiſtory.

An. 1672. advanced the ſame day * to the eminence of Holtzein, a ſmall town in the neighbourhood of Nuys. Here the Elector of Cologne came to meet the young King, and held a conference with him about what expeditions his troops ſhould make, while the French Generals, after the reduction of the four towns abovementioned ſhould go and join the army at Munſter. The interview laſted ſome hours, the Elector went to Nuys, and the King continued his march, and encamped between Orſoy and Rhimberg, from whence he could go in perſon to the ſieges of the four towns deſigned to be attacked. While he was beſieging Rhimberg, the Duke of Orleans Orſoy, and the Prince of Condé Veſel, the Viſcount de Turenne was employed in reducing Burick. This town is oppoſite to Veſel and on the other ſide of the Rhine; its fortifications, which conſiſted of ſix baſtions and ſix half moons made of earth, and ſtrengthned with ſtakes and palliſades, were in pretty good condition, it had proviſions and ammunition in abundance, and its Governor † Peckendam was an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit: but there were only 400 men in garriſon, and the place being ſmall, could not furniſh many towns-people for the ſervice. The Viſcount having finiſhed the lines of circumvallation the firſt day of the ſiege, cauſed a battery to be raiſed on the banks of the river in order to cut off the communication between the town and Veſel. Peckendam placed a great many lighted matches on the walls in the night time, to make the French believe that they were ſo many muſketeers; but the Viſcount who in all this expedition tried to prevail by perſuaſion before he made uſe of force, let him know by a trumpet that he was perfectly well informed of the condition of the place, and the number of the ſoldiers, and that it would be

* Walkenier.

† Walkenier calls him *Ottan Roda de Heckeren*.

very

very imprudent to ſacrifice the lives of 400 men to defer for a few days a ſurrendry, which was unavoidable. Peckendam reflected upon this advice, and ſeeing that he had but ten pieces of canon in a condition to fire, and that the Viſcount had puſhed his approaches as far as the brink of the ditch which was already half filled up, he beat the chamade with conſent of his Council, and delivered up the town to the French. Orſoy ſurrendered the 3d of June, Burick the 4th, Veſel the 6th, and Rhimberg the 7th. An. 1672.

The King encouraged by ſo extraordinary ſucceſs made his army advance to Veſel, in order to paſs the Rhine there, and followed the route of the Prince of Condé who was gone to Emerick, and of the Viſcount de Turenne, who arrived the 4th of June in the evening before the town of Rees, which was ſurrounded by ſeven great baſtions and a ſtrong wall. Wimberguen a man of courage and reſolution, and Governor of the place, had a garriſon ſufficient to defend it: on the other ſide of the Rhine there was a conſiderable fort in condition to make a longer reſiſtance than the town it ſelf. Captain Vanderhove with 200 men at firſt charged the French: but the Viſcount de Turenne ſo terrified him with threatnings, and afterwards gained him by promiſes, that he made him ſurrender the fort, even without giving notice of it to the Governor of Rees. Wimberguen hearing no noiſe of canon or muſkets on the other ſide of the Rhine, ſent an Officer with ſome ſoldiers to inform themſelves of the reaſon of ſo ſudden a calm, and of a ſilence which he ſuſpected to import no good: but thoſe ſoldiers had not gone half way, when the French began to fire upon them from the fort, which obliged them to return and give an account of the matter to the Governor, who ſeeing that the town was battered by thoſe very canon which had been

The Viſcount takes the town and fort of Rees.

An. 1672. deſigned for its defence, began from that moment to deſpair of preſerving the place: he would nevertheleſs let the Viſcount ſee that he was brave and faithful to his Maſters, and fired at the ſame time upon the fort and the beſiegers: The Governor's reſolution ſhewing that the ſiege would prove more difficult than that of the four other towns, the Viſcount excited by his wonted moderation and clemency had recourſe to threatnings, to prevent the effuſion of blood: having battered the town a whole day, he ſent a trumpet to Wimberguen to ſummon him to ſurrender upon reaſonable terms, and to tell him, that if he refuſed he would put all the inhabitants to the ſword as ſoon as he had taken the place. The citizens and magiſtrates being terrified, ſent to the Viſcount's camp and offered him the keys of the town: but he out of modeſty refuſed them, being willing to leave all the honours to the King, who arrived next day, and ſent the town-deputies to Louvois the Secretary of State to have the capitulation ſettled: the Miniſter was not ſo condeſcending to them as the Viſcount would have been.

June 9th. The articles of ſurrendery were ſigned in the King's camp by Louvois and Van Wimberguen, and the town was delivered up the ſame day.

The town of Emerick ſurrenders to the King. The King's army then marched towards Emerick, the firſt town in the Duchy of Cleves on the ſide of the United Provinces. As it was not ſo well fortified, and had leſs ſtore of proviſions than the other five towns which before ſurrendered, it ſubmitted: but the garriſon not thinking it proper to commit themſelves to the diſcretion of the conqueror, abandoned the place, and retired to Fort Sckenck. The inhabitants immediately preſented the keys to the King, who continued to them their privileges, gave them another garriſon, and left them their own magiſtrates and their laws.

The

The Dutch were more ſucceſsful at ſea; the 7th of June the Engliſh and French fleets commanded by the Duke of York in chief, and under him by the Count d'Etrees Vice-admiral of France, were attacked by the Dutch fleet commanded by Cornelius de Witt Admiral and the brave Ruyter under him. After an engagement, which laſted a whole day near Solſbay, on the Engliſh coaſt, night parted them, and victory not having declared for either ſide each party claimed it. An. 1672. A ſea fight at Solsbay.

The King having made himſelf maſter of all the towns that were not covered by rivers, thought it proper to enter into the heart of Holland and beſiege Nimeguen. The Viſcount de Turenne went with his cavalry to view the avenues of the town: but having learnt that the Dutch had thrown ſuccours into it by Betau, and foreſeeing that the ſiege would coſt too many men, and retard the progreſs of the army, he immediately returned to the King, who was encamped near Rees, and adviſed him to advance towards Betau, and there attempt to paſs the Rhine. The Prince of Condé had orders to march with his army and view the banks of the river. The extraordinary dryneſs of the ſeaſon had made the waters ſo low, that the river ſeemed fordable near the place where the Iſſel ſeparates from it. An inhabitant of the country called John Paterſon came and told the Prince that there was a ford near the fort of Tolhuys: Condé having made the Count du Guiche ſound it, he reſolved to paſs while the bridge was making. The King being acquainted with his deſign approved of it, and had a mind to be preſent at the enterpriſe: he left the command of his army to the Viſcount, ſet out immediately from Rees with his Houſhold, and arrived in the Prince of Condé's camp at ten at night. The King reſolves to paſs the Rhine. The King's troops paſs the Rhine by ſwimming, and the Prince of Condé is wounded.

The Prince of Orange who was encamped on the banks of the Iſſel, three leagues from fort Tolhuys, having

An. 1672. having learnt the ſame day the King's deſign from the peaſants who had ſeen the river ſounded, immediately ſent General Wurtz a German with two regiments of foot and ſome ſquadrons of horſe to defend the ford in the room of Montbas * who had abandoned it. At break of day Wurtz's foot were ſeen entrenching themſelves with great diligence on the other ſide of the river, and his horſe were poſted under trees and behind hedges. The King ordered the Count de Guiche to begin the paſſage at the head of two thouſand horſe, in the front of which was the regiment of Cuiraſſiers commanded by the Count de Revel as Colonel, and Langallerie an old officer as Major. As ſoon as the French troops had put themſelves in order of battle along the river, General Wurtz drew up his horſe on the other ſide to defend the approach. The Count de Guiche having ordered his men to looſe their horſes girths and take off their curbs, that they might ſwim with greater eaſe, entered the water preceded by twelve Cuiraſſiers, and followed by the whole regiment in as good order as if they had walked upon dry land: the King commanded a great diſcharge of the canon to be made to keep the Dutch at a diſtance on the other ſide, while the garriſon of Tolhuys fired upon the French who were paſſing the river. Wurtz's horſe advanced into the water to fight, and made a diſcharge: about twenty of the French were drowned, being either wounded by the enemy's fire, or carried away by the rapidity of the Rhine: but the reſt forced their way, gained the bank, drew up in battalia, attacked, repulſed and obliged the Dutch to ſave themſelves in their entrenchments. The King encouraged by this firſt ſucceſs permitted his Houſhold to croſs the river: the Dukes of Bouillon, Soubize, Vivonne and Coaſlin; the Counts of Saulx, Aubeterre, Lionne, Neſle, Beaumont, Beringhen, Nan-

* A Gentleman of Poictou.

touillet,

touillet, Aubuſſon and other Voluntiers, threw themſelves boldly into the river, and were followed by ſeveral ſquadrons who ſwam in order of battle: they did not however run ſo much hazard as the firſt, becauſe the great number of horſes broke the force of the ſtream. In the mean time the Prince of Condé with his ſon the Duke of Enguien and his nephew the Duke of Longueville having paſſed in a boat, put himſelf at the head of the ſquadrons, and began to cry at a diſtance to the enemy's foot that were retired to their poſt, to lay down their arms and they ſhould have quarter. The Duke of Enguien and the Duke of Longueville, warmed by the former night's wine, advanced imprudently to the enemy; and the latter firing a piſtol cried out that there was no quarter. The Dutch immediately made a diſcharge; the Duke of Longueville was killed, and the Prince of Condé wounded in the wriſt: being more concerned at the loſs of his nephew than for his wound, he gave orders to attack the enemy, who defended their firſt poſt very ill, and retired to a barriere beyond Tolhuys. The Prince notwithſtanding his wound, followed them at the head of his troops, and never left the purſuit till the Dutch were entirely ſcattered. An. 1672.

The bridge was finiſhed, and the reſt of the army paſs'd it: the Viſcount having learnt in the camp at Rees what had happened, went alone in great haſte to join the King who ordered him immediately to take upon him the command of the Prince's army. Condé retired to Emerick: the French army ſoon after entered victorious into Betau, the moſt fruitful country of the United Provinces; put all the iſle * under contribution and chaſed General Wurtz out of it notwithſtanding the reinforcement that had been ſent him. The garriſon of Tolhuys abandoned the fort, which had been formerly defended by four ſoldiers

The Viſcount takes the command of the Prince of Condé's army, and enters Betau.

* It is called the *Iſle*, on account of its being ſurrounded with rivers.

againſt

An. 1672. againſt all the efforts of the Spaniards. It had then ſeventeen commanded by a Serjeant; that was ſufficient for the defence of a place the heighth and thickneſs of whoſe walls rendered it inacceſſible: but the ſoldiers being frighted run away at the approach of the French. Wurtz took refuge near the Prince of Orange with the few men he had left. The Prince fearing leſt the French ſhould come upon his rear, abandoned the Iſſel, led back the army of the States to the innermoſt part of the country and retired to Rhenen in the Province of Utrecht. The paſſing the Rhine ſpread a terror over all Holland, and the conſternation reached even the moſt diſtant towns.

The rapidity of the King's conqueſts. The Viſcount takes the town of Arnheim.

After the King's army had entered Betau there followed a continued courſe of new conqueſts, the rapidity of which aſtoniſhed and alarmed all Europe. They were informed at the Hague of the taking of towns before they had heard of their being inveſted or threatned. It is to this day very unaccountable how ſo many fortreſſes that were thought impregnable, ſhould make ſo bad a defence, and that in a country which had been the ſchool of Europe for ſieges, moſt of the places did not hold out longer than 24 hours after opening the trenches. The King marched with his army towards the old Iſſel and went without reſiſtance and encamped before Doeſburg: on the other hand the Viſcount de Turenne took Heuſden and Iſſeloort; and by that means laid open all the country of Betau: the ſame day he ſeized the bridge of Arnheim which the citizens had begun to break down in order to put a ſtop to his progreſs: he made 150 horſe ſwim a-croſs the river to charge the rear of the Dutch who were marching pretty nigh the town: the troopers fell upon the waggons and the baggage, carried off a booty of 25,000 crowns, and took 200 of the enemy priſoners. The Viſcount then cauſed the bridge to be refitted, croſſed it the ſame night with Condé's army and pre-

June 13.

pared

pared to batter in two places the town of Arnheim the capital of Guelderland, the garriſon whereof conſiſted of 2000 men: the next day as he was viewing the place a muſquet bullet broke the hoof of his favourite horſe which he commonly rode. The inhabitants ſeeing all the preparations for a ſiege, prevailed upon the town-council to ſend a deputation to the Viſcount, and the French entered the town on the fourteenth day in the morning before the capitulation was ſigned. An. 1672.

The next day the Viſcount marched towards fort Knotſembourg oppoſite to Nimeguen, attacked the fort the night following and gained the counterſcarp: the garriſon being reſolved to blow up the magazine of powder if the counterſcarp was taken kept firing all night, which obliged the French to entrench themſelves and erect a battery. Verſhor Commander in the fort ſeeing that his ſoldiers were ſpent with fatigue, each of them having fired 120 ſhot, ſent by break of day to deſire a reinforcement from Welderen the Governor of Nimeguen, who not daring to leſſen his garriſon pointed the canon of his rampart ſo directly againſt the avenues of the fort that he very much incommoded the beſiegers: this reſiſtance ſerved only to redouble the ardor of the French who demoliſhed one of the baſtions of the fortreſs with their artillery. The ſiege in all probability would have continued with the ſame obſtinacy if an unforſeen accident had not fallen out. * A drummer happening to beat a retreat upon the rampart at a wrong time, the ſoldiers of the garriſon thinking that Verſhor ſeeing the principal baſtion taken had ordered the chamade to be beat, ran together with precipitation and cried out *quarter* from the top of the walls. The Commander accompanied by his officers in vain remonſtrated that the ſignal given was only through a miſtake in the drummer, he was ſurrounded by a tumultuous crowd without diſcipline

The Viſcount takes fort Knotſembourg.

* Walkenier.

or

An. 1672. or valour, who murmured againſt their officers and forced them to capitulate. The articles were ſigned, and this was the firſt time that the French granted an honourable capitulation: the garriſon which conſiſted of only 150 ſoldiers had orders to retire to Groninghen.

The Viſcount takes ten other towns or forts.

After the taking of Knotſembourg, Turenne turned his canon againſt the town of Nimeguen, and to facilitate the reduction of it ſent his nephew the Count de Lorge to make himſelf maſter of the town of Tul and the forts of Voorn and St. Andre: while this detachment was employed in reducing thoſe three places, the Viſcount cauſed Nimeguen to be blocked up and went himſelf to fort Sckenck; he arrived there the ſixteenth of June at night, and having immediately made his approaches he ſummoned it to ſurrender. This fort had formerly coſt the great Henry-Frederick Prince of Orange the Viſcount's uncle a ſeven months ſiege and a conſiderable number of brave ſoldiers. The place was of great importance and very ſtrong by its ſituation which was between the Rhine and the Wahal; and the garriſon conſiſting of fifty companies in good condition, amounted to 2000 ſoldiers; but the Governor was a young man without experience, and being moved by the mournful cries of the women, and intimidated by the name of Turenne, he ſurrendered the place the ſecond day of the ſiege and the garriſon was conducted to Coevorden *. The young Governor did not long ſurvive his diſgrace: the fright at firſt, and then the remembrance of his miſconduct, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion in his mind that he died on his march.

The ſame day that Sckenck ſurrendered the Viſcount detached the Marquis de Rochefort to penetrate further into the country of Welau. Wageninghen, Rhenen, Wych and Amersfort immediately

* Walkenier.

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ſurrendered, and the Marquis advanced without difficulty as far as Naerden: the detachment which the Count de Lorges commanded met with no greater oppoſition; Thiel, Coulembourg, Buren, and the forts of Voorn and St. Andre in the little Iſle of Bommel opened their gates to the Viſcount's nephew. As for him, after poſſeſſing himſelf of Genep and Grave which the Dutch had abandoned, he returned to Nimeguen to finiſh the ſiege of it. An. 1672.

The ſiege of Nimeguen.

Never was there a town in a better condition of defence: the ſtrength of the works, the prodigious quantity of ammunition and proviſions, the number of fighting men who with the armed citizens amounted to above 8000, the more than ordinary vigilance of the Magiſtrate, and the valour and reputation of John Welderen the Governor, promiſed a long and obſtinate reſiſtance. The troops which the Viſcount had left before the town to keep it blocked up, had battered it with the canon of Knotſembourg and from a battery raiſed on the banks of the Wahal, but with little ſucceſs. The citizens animated by the Governor, and reſolved to defend their liberty at the expence of their lives, ſhared with the garriſon all the toil of the ſiege. This reſolution obliged the Viſcount to attack the place in form. The 20th of June he cauſed a third battery to be raiſed, and a great number of bombs and fire works to be thrown, that he might not be obliged to open any trenches and that he might ſave the lives of the ſoldiers. The bombs had not all the effect which the Viſcount had hoped for: the Magiſtrates had ordered the citizens, the maſons and tilers immediately to repair the miſchiefs they did: they had taken all the neceſſary precautions to extinguiſh the fire in the beginning or hinder it from ſpreading; moreover the diſtance was ſo great that the greateſt part of the bombs could not croſs the river; the others deſtroyed but few houſes becauſe the quarter of the town the moſt ex-

An. 1672. poſed was that of the Catholicks, which the French had orders to ſpare. The gallant behaviour of the garriſon and the citizens made the Viſcount conclude that he could do nothing to the purpoſe at ſuch a diſtance. Having battered the town ten days he at length reſolved to make his army paſs the Wahal and ſhut up the place more cloſely. In the beginning of July he cauſed a bridge of boats to be made; all his army croſſed the river early in the morning and arrived betimes at an eminence near the town; he ordered all his cavalry to make faſcines, and in the evening marched with 4000 foot and 1000 horſe to an old abandoned work which was near the Place and which the beſieged had not had the precaution to raze: he took poſſeſſion of it without reſiſtance, and that ſame night cauſed two trenches to be cut in order to go to the point of two half moons which covered the rampart. The French made a great lodgment along the parapet of the abandoned work, and erected there a battery of eight pieces of canon: on the ſixth day of the ſiege they paſſed the ditch, made lodgments in it and ſet the miners to work at the half moons, although the garriſon conſiſted of 4000 foot and 600 horſe all old troops. On the eighth day the beſieged deſired to come to a capitulation, it was ſigned on the ninth and the conditions were that the principal officers ſhould be allowed to depart with their equipages and the reſt be made priſoners of war.

The King's progreſs and the Duke of Luxembourg's.

While the Viſcount was thus making himſelf maſter of the chief towns of Velau and Betau, the troops of the Biſhop of Munſter and the Elector of Cologne having joined thoſe commanded by the Duke of Luxembourg, entered by the county of Benthem into Over-Iſſel and took Grool, Deventer, Campen, Swoll, Groninghen, and almoſt all the places of note in that Province: but the Duke did not treat the conquered towns with the ſame mildneſs that the Viſcount

Viſcount did. The two Prelates, animated by that implacable anger that almoſt always attends wars undertaken for the ſake of Religion, excited Luxembourg to uſe ſeverity. The King after having reduced the towns of Doeſbourg and Zutphen had entered the Province of Utrecht, and detached the Marquis de Rochefort to poſſeſs himſelf of the capital. The Prince of Orange who had weakened his army to reinforce the garriſons of a great many towns, retired towards Utrecht and divided his forces into five corps, to guard the five principal paſſes which led to the heart of Holland. One of thoſe corps under Prince Maurice of Naſſau was at Muyden; another commanded by Count Horn at Sluys; the third under the conduct of General Wurtz at Gorcum; the fourth at Schonhoven was given to the Marquis de Louvigni a Gentleman of Hainault; and the Prince went and poſted himſelf near Bodegrave on the Rhine with the fifth. An. 1672.

The King's army was encamped at Zeiſt a village two leagues from Utrecht: this town having opened its gates to the conqueror, the detachment commanded by the Marquis of Rochefort had penetrated into the Province of Holland and taken Woerden, Monfort, Amersfort and Naerden, which is but five leagues from Amſterdam. The Dutch could find no expedient to ſave that capital but by having recourſe to an element which had always been the chief defence of the Republick. They pierced their dams, opened their ſluices, broke down their bridges, and laid all the country under water: the other towns imitated their example: Holland, Brabant and Dutch-Flanders were one vaſt ſea; the towns roſe like Iſlands in the midſt of the waters. In this extremity the people being perſuaded that there was no ſafety for their country but in having the ſupreme power lodged in one man, obliged the States of Holland and Weſt-frieſland to ab- The Prince of Orange is declared Stadtholder.

An. 1672. rogate *the perpetual and irrevocable edict againſt the Stadtholderſhip*, and to confer that dignity upon the Prince of Orange, together with thoſe of *Captain-General* and *High-Admiral*, with which they had veſted him only proviſionally.

* The States General ſent Deputies into England to repreſent to King Charles II. that the French had made a greater progreſs in a few days than Spain had done in ſeveral years; that the rapidity of their conqueſts ought to make England apprehenſive leſt Lewis XIV. after having ſubdued the ſeven United Provinces ſhould think of conquering the other ten. Charles II. ſent the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Arlington into Holland: theſe two Miniſters in divers conferences with the States General at the Hague and with the Prince of Orange at Bodegrave, removed the apprehenſions of the Republick with regard to their Maſter, aſſuring her that he did not intend to let her ſink under the arms of France. After thoſe conferences they repaired to the camp at Zeiſt; the King gave them firſt a publick audience and afterwards had a conference with them in private, wherein they let him underſtand the jealouſy his victories had given his allies; they remonſtrated to him that contrary to the faith of treaties, he had taken ſome towns in the Province of Holland, and ſeemed to have a mind to get poſſeſſion of all for himſelf without regard to the intereſts of England: they deſired that he would penetrate no further into Holland, that he would evacuate the towns he had taken and make the conqueſt of Zealand in order to give it the Engliſh, adding that if he would not come into theſe terms Great-Britain would be obliged to break her alliance with him†. The King made ſerious reflections upon theſe things, and fearing to riſque his glory and

* Mem. of Sir William Temple.

† This according to Walkenier, was the ſecret of the Engliſh Miniſters embaſſy at Zeiſt, which Sir William Temple confeſſes himſelf to be ignorant of.

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his conqueſts by perſiſting obſtinately to advance in a country which the inundation had rendered impaſſable, he reſolved to ſhew ſome complaiſance for an ally that was become jealous, and to hearken to negotiations, which after ſo many victories could not but turn to his advantage. Before he left this country he went to Utrecht attended by the Duke of Orleans and all his Court, made a publick entry into that city and was received with the greateſt evidences of reſpect and joy: thoſe of the reformed Religion came of their own accord and gave up the keys of their churches, the cathedral was purified and bleſſed by Cardinal de Bouillon Great Almoner of France and nephew to the Viſcount de Turenne. The King gave the Government of the Province of Utrecht to the Duke of Luxembourg and that of the town to Stouppe Colonel of the Swiſs guards; he made his army decamp from Zeiſt and ſet out to return into France through Dutch Brabant. He had in the ſpace of two months conquered the three Provinces of Guelderland, Over-Iſſel and Utrecht, taken above fifty towns or forts and made 24000 priſoners. The Prince of Condé and Marſhal Turenne had immediately after paſſing the Rhine adviſed the King not to reſtore any of the priſoners, to ſend them all to work at the canal of Languedoc, to raze moſt of the ſtrong places he ſhould take, and not to keep any but thoſe which ſhould be neceſſary for the preſervation of his conqueſts. The King ſeemed to like their advice, but Louvois who was of another opinion prevailed upon him to releaſe all the priſoners for a moderate ranſom and to preſerve all the fortified places: thus the French army was almoſt quite exhauſted by furniſhing above fifty garriſons.

An. 1672.

5 July.

9 July.

10 July.

The King arrived the ſixteenth of July at Boxtel near Bois-le-Duc, attended by the Deputies from Holland, the Engliſh Ambaſſadors and the Duke of Monmouth natural ſon to King Charles II. There the

Conditions of peace propoſed by the Miniſters of France and England to the Republick.

An. 1672. the two Kings renewed their treaty, and the Miniſters digeſted and drew up the conditions of Peace which their Maſters propoſed; the King chiefly inſiſted upon a treaty of commerce for regulating the rights and pretenſions of the French and Dutch Eaſt and Weſt-India companies; upon the publick exerciſe of the Catholick Religion in all places belonging to the States General; twenty millions [of livres] for his expences in the war, and that all the places taken on the Meuſe on the other ſide of the Rhine and in the Empire ſhould be given up to him in exchange for the three conquered Provinces. The King of England demanded of the Dutch the loweing of the flag, a million ſterling for his expences, a hundred thouſand pounds ſterling yearly for the right of fiſhing on the coaſts of Great-Britain and Ireland; the Sovereignty of the United Provinces for his nephew the Prince of Orange, or at leaſt the hereditary and unalienable ſucceſſion to the Offices of *Stadtholder*, *Captain-General* and *High-Admiral*; and a ſhare in all the commerce with the Indies.

The Dutch reject the conditions and demand aſſiſtance from the Princes of the Empire.

Theſe conditions appeared ſo unreaſonable to the States, that they thought them propoſed purely to be refuſed and to get a pretence for taking from them the reſt of their Provinces. Being animated by the Prince of Orange they reſolved to wait in the middle of the waters for aſſiſtance from their neighbours; they ſent the two Kings propoſals to the Princes of Germany and laid before them the deplorable condition of the Republick: the more effectually to move the German Princes to compaſſion they repreſented to them that they could not ſubſiſt above three months, that the waters which were for a time their ſecurity againſt the approaches of the enemy would not always ſave them, and that winter coming on the French army might come over the ice and attack them. All the Powers of Germany intereſted themſelves in their cauſe; ſome out

of

of jealouſy of France, others out of pity for the Dutch: but of all the Princes who prepared to aſſiſt them the Elector of Brandenburgh, as the moſt powerful, the neareſt and the moſt intereſted, firſt took the field. An. 1672.

After the King's departure, the Prince of Orange was continually employed in raiſing recruits, in ranſoming from Louvois the ſoldiers who were priſoners and who were all delivered up at four crowns per head, and in fortifying his entrenchments and barriers againſt the French. As his prudence equalled his courage, it was not long before he gained the affections of the people, and ſtirred them up againſt the two de Witts who were accuſed of being in concert with Louis XIV. Thoſe two great men had always loved France, and been ſenſible from the beginning how dangerous it was to provoke a King whoſe anceſtors had prevented the ruin of the Republick: the Penſioner was ſuſpected of having a deſign to deceive England, to cruſh the Houſe of Orange, to raiſe the Province of Holland above the ſix others, and thus by the aſſiſtance of France to procure to himſelf an abſolute authority: an attempt was made on his life in the ſtreets of the Hague at midnight, and he was covered with wounds; but he defended himſelf with ſo much bravery that the aſſaſſins could not accompliſh their deſign. A popular commotion againſt the two de Witts

While the Biſhop of Munſter and the Elector of Cologne were continuing to make conqueſts in the Provinces of Frieſland and Groninghen, the Viſcount de Turenne was extending his on the Wahal and the Meuſe. He beſieged the town of Creve-Coeur and carried it in a few days; the day after, he paſſed into the Iſle of Bommel, * advanced to the town and encamped along the Wahal. The Magiſtrates and the commanding officer would not obey the firſt ſummons, and ſent to the Prince of Orange for ſuccour: the Viſcount whoſe favourite maxim was al- The Viſcount takes Creve-Coeur and Bommel.

* Walkenier.

An. 1672. ways to ſpare the lives of his ſoldiers and even thoſe of his enemies, when he could make conqueſt without bloodſhed, ſent to ſummon the town a ſecond time and ſpent two whole days in negotiating; the French being impatient repreſented to him that in a continued courſe of victories he had never rewarded the ſoldiers with any booty, and that it was injurious to the honour of the French arms to make uſe of perſuaſion when he could carry a town by force. The Viſcount acted from nobler motives; the moderation, clemency, generoſity and diſintereſtedneſs which he manifeſted in all his conqueſts gained him the hearts of his enemies, and it would have rendered the King's conqueſts more laſting if all the Generals had followed his example. The inhabitants ſeeing that no ſuccours came, ſent deputies to the camp who paſſed through the battalions and ſquadrons juſt ready to march to the aſſault: the Deputies frightened at the danger went to the head quarters, ſigned immediately the conditions which the conqueror granted them, and the garriſon conſiſting of five Companies was ſent to Gorcum.

The King returns to Paris with the Duke of Orleans and declares the Viſcount Generaliſſimo of his forces.

The day before the ſurrender of this town, which was the laſt of the Viſcount de Turenne's conqueſts in the Low-Countries, the King at his camp at Boxtel made him Governor of Guelderland and declared him Generaliſſimo of his forces. Louis had delayed his departure in hopes of beſieging Bois-le-Duc which would have certainly been taken if the weather had continued good: but there fell for five days ſuch a vaſt quantity of rain that all the moraſſes about the town were filled with water and the King's camp was almoſt overflowed, which determined him to ſet out for Paris with the Duke of Orleans. He left the Duke of Luxembourg in Holland to obſerve the Prince of Orange's motions, and order'd the Viſcount to advance towards Germany to oppoſe the forces of the Elector of Brandenburgh and of the Em-

Emperor Leopold who was going to declare againſt France. An. 1672.

As ſoon as the King was returned to Paris, the troubles and ſeditions broke out afreſh in Holland. The Prince of Orange's partizans again ſtirred up the populace againſt the de Witts. Several miſdemeanors were laid to the Penſioner's charge, but he cleared himſelf: ſuborned witneſſes accuſed his brother the Great Bailiff of a deſign to poiſon the Prince of Orange. Cornelius was put in priſon and treated very barbarouſly; while he underwent the torture he ſung that Ode of Horace which begins *Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum*. The Penſioner laid down his office and the Great Bailiff was condemned to perpetual baniſhment: John de Witt having taken his brother Cornelius out of priſon, after the ſentence of baniſhment was pronounced, the people gathered about them and threatned to murder them. Three troops of Count Tilly's horſe who were in garriſon in the Hague, were going to aſſiſt the two brothers, but the States of the Province being aſſembled, made thoſe troops retire, under pretence of repulſing a number of armed peaſants who were coming to pillage and inſult the town. This ſtratagem made it eaſy for the people to attack the de Witts, and their fury was ſuch that they aſſaſſinated them in the ſtreets in open day with unparallel'd cruelty. The Prince of Orange, whoſe partizans had made him this horrible ſacrifice, ſeemed touch'd with the unfortunate end of the two illuſtrious brothers: he made the Penſioner's eulogium, tho' coldly enough, and he ordered the murderers to be proſecuted; but the clemency he ſhewed them gave cauſe to ſuſpect that he had countenanced the murder. The real advantages he drew from it did not a little contribute to ſtrengthen the ſuſpicion. Scarce were the de Witts dead when the Magiſtrates of all the United Provinces declared the young Prince, The de Witts maſſacred.

An. 1672. as thoſe of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland had done ſome days before, Governor, Admiral, and Captain General; ſo that by this event he became maſter of all the deliberations of the States.

The Emperor and moſt of the Princes of the Empire unite in favour of Holland.

All Germany was in motion to come and aſſiſt the Dutch: the ſollicitations of Gremonville the Ambaſſador of France at the Court of Vienna were unſucceſsful. The Emperor on the firſt of Auguſt ordered all the members of the Empire to unite for the common ſecurity of the Germanick body, and to recal their troops that were in the ſervice of foreign Powers under pain of being put under the *Ban of the Empire*. After this declaration the negotiations of France had no ſucceſs in the other Courts of Germany: the Count de Vauguyon could gain nothing with the Elector of Brandenburgh, who far from hearkening to the King's propoſals, concluded in favour of the Republick, a treaty with the Emperor, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Brunſwick-Lunenbourg, and the Landgrave of Heſſe: the Duke of Vitri had no longer reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Elector of Bavaria: the Marquis de Vaubrun found little cauſe to hope any thing from the Elector of Mentz: the pains the Duke of Wirtemberg was at with the Elector of Treves were without effect, and the Marquis d'Angeau had no better ſucceſs at the Court of Heidelberg. All were jealous of France; England began to waver, and there was no Power in Europe on which Louis XIV. could rely *.

The Viſcount marches againſt the Elector of Brandenburgh.

The Elector of Brandenburgh was advancing in great haſte with an army of 25,000 men. Turenne having no mind to allow him time to enter Holland or the country of Cleves, marched againſt him with only 12,000 men, † ſeveral of whom were not very well ſatisfied with repaſſing the Rhine to begin a new campaign. The Viſcount knowing that want of money was the cauſe of their murmuring, gave

* Walkenier. † Abbé Raguenet.

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new evidences of his liberality to the officers, ſupply'd all their neceſſities and engaged them to follow him: he went up as high as Veſel, where he cauſed a bridge to be made over the Rhine; and having furniſhed that town together with Rees, Emerick and Nuys with proviſions and ammunition he paſſed the river on the tenth of September, and advanced with all his troops within ſight of Eſſen in order to enter the country of Marck and obſerve in perſon the motions of the enemy. The boldneſs with which he appeared on the other ſide the Rhine to diſpute the paſſage of it with two great armies and oppoſe the united forces of the Empire in the Empire itſelf, aſtoniſhed all Germany. He removed the apprehenſions of the Germans by writing a circular letter to the Electors, Princes, free-towns and communities of the Empire, declaring to them that the intentions of the King his Maſter were not to diſturb the peace of the Germanick body; that Louis XIV. had made his army paſs the Rhine only to oppoſe the Emperor who was coming to hinder his conqueſts in Holland; and that he would make his troops retire if the Elector of Brandenburgh would give ſecurity not to moleſt the allies of France.

An. 1672.

10 Septemb.

The King having foreſeen that the Germans might march into Alſace and fall upon Lorrain, ſent the Prince of Condé who was recovered of his wound to Mentz with 18,000 men to be upon the watch on the Rhine towards Alſace. The Prince and the Viſcount thus guarded the higher and lower Rhine, while the Duke of Duras was encamped on the Meuſe, being always in readineſs to aſſiſt the one or the other as occaſion required.

The Prince of Condé being recovered from his wound is ſent into Alſace.

The Elector of Brandenburgh had ſet out from Potſdam on the 25th of Auguſt in order to put himſelf at the head of his troops that were got together between Lipſtadt and Halberſtadt. Four days after, the Imperialiſts, commanded by the Count de Montecuculli

The Elector of Brandenburgh's forces join thoſe of the Emperor and the Duke of Lorrain.

An. 1672. tecuculli and the Duke of Bournonville, ſet out from Egra; they conſiſted of 6000 horſe and 12,000 foot, and took the rout of Erford in order to go to the place of rendezvous. The Electoral and Imperial armies to the number of 40,000 men joined in the biſhoprick of Hildeſheim about the 12th of September; the 13th of the ſame month they went to Mulhauſen in Turingia, nine leagues from the Weſer, with a deſign to croſs the Palatinate and paſs the Rhine at Coblentz. The Viſcount de Turenne having received a reinforcement of 4000 men, went and poſted himſelf at Mulhem near Cologne and forced the enemy to retire to the neighbourhood of Fridberg at 25 leagues diſtance from him: he then marched further up the Rhine, and croſs'd the Duchy of Berg, and came to Naſſau on the river Lohr. The two German armies continued in their camp almoſt a month, not daring to advance near him; on the 12th of October the Elector's army went and encamped at Gieſſen, as did that of the Emperor in Veteravia, both being five leagues diſtant from Frankfort, where the Duke of Lorrain's troops joined them. The Viſcount repaſſed the Rhine at Andernach where he had built a bridge about the end of October; he there left a body of troops under the command of the Marquis de Vaubrun and went with the reſt of his army to take up his quarters in the country of Triers. On his approach the Elector of Triers ſeemed deſirous to preſerve a neutrality; but the Viſcount having diſcovered his ſecret intrigues at the Court of Vienna, laid his country under contribution; and the Elector retired to Coblentz, where he ſoon after received an Imperial garriſon: the enemy in vain hoped to paſs the Rhine at that place: the Viſcount watched that poſt with ſo much diligence that they durſt not make any attempt there: they then deſigned to croſs the river at the bridge of Mentz, enter the Palatinate and thence march into Alſace; the Elector

Elector of Mentz and the Elector Palatin intimidated by the neighbourhood of Turenne refuſed to grant them a paſſage, and the Elector of Mentz broke down his bridge which they had intended to ſeize: they then made uſeleſs attempts to croſs the Main at Frankfort; all their hopes being fruſtrated, they at laſt reſolved in the beginning of November to attempt to paſs the Rhine at the bridge of Straſburg. The Viſcount, who diſcovered all their deſigns, inſtantly acquainted the Prince of Condé, who immediately ſent orders to Liſcouet Governor of Briſac to detach a part of his garriſon with boats loaded with fireworks to burn the bridge. This order was happily and ſpeedily executed, and the enemy were once more diſconcerted: the German Generals then changed their meaſures and deſigned to make a laſt effort at the confluence of the Main and the Rhine: they built a bridge at Flerſheim, paſſed the firſt river there with their canon and baggage, then went and encamped in the Country of the Landgrave of Darmſtadt, and took up their head quarters at Ruſſelheim. The twenty third they finiſhed a bridge of boats at Guſtavebourg oppoſite to Veiſſenau, a canon ſhot from Mentz, and propoſed to paſs the river there, to enter the Electorate of Triers, and croſs the country of Liege, in order to join the Prince of Orange. The 30th of November Turenne indefatigable and preſent every where, advanced, in order to hinder their paſſage, from Witlic to Pruyn on the confines of Luxembourg; ſo that they were conſtrained to continue in a ravaged country, tho' very much weakened by ſickneſs, ſcarcity, and uſeleſs marches and countermarches. An. 1672.

The Imperial and Electoral armies were thus employed for the ſpace of three whole months in attempting to paſs the Rhine at Mentz, Coblentz, Straſburg and other ſtrong towns: but the Viſcount de Turenne continually put unſurmountable obſtacles The Imperial and Electoral troops march into Weſtphalia.

An. 1672. in their way, marched always at their heels, and both hindred them from aſſiſting the Dutch, and making a diverſion in Alſace: in thus wandering up and down the Electorates of Mentz, Triers and the Palatinate, they entirely ruined thoſe countries. The three Electors ſent heavy complaints to Vienna and Ratiſbonne of the German troops breaking their faith, who under pretence of preſerving the Empire, were labouring for its deſtruction, while the French did it no manner of damage. The united Armies ſeeing that they were like to draw upon themſelves the reſentment of the three Electors, reſolved to abandon thoſe ravaged countries, and ſeek their winter quarters in Weſtphalia in the territories of the Biſhop of Munſter and the Elector of Cologne. About the middle of December they paſſed the Main by break of day, marched through the country of Darmſtadt, and went and encamped at Weſlar, where they left 4000 men: then they took three different routs in order to enter Weſtphalia, one by Herbron in the territories of Naſſau, another by Frankemberg in the country of Heſſe, and the third between thoſe two towns: on their march they attempted to take Fridberg; but the citizens and peaſants hindered them. As they had a mind to ſpare the lands belonging to the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel for fear of offending him, they were obliged to fetch a great compaſs through difficult ways, where they loſt near 4000 horſe. About the end of December, the Elector of Brandenburgh, the Duke of Lorrain, the Duke of Bournonville and the Count de Montecuculli arrived on the frontiers of Weſtphalia; the Elector of Cologne and the Biſhop of Munſter to ſave their lands in that Circle, were obliged to ſend thither their principal forces under the Marquis de Rennel. The Viſcount de Turenne deſigning likewiſe to bring his army there advanced to Veſel about the end of December,

and

and wrote to Court of the reſolution he had taken. An. 1673.

The King being more than ſatisfied that the Viſcount with 16000 men had hindred two armies of 40000 from paſſing the Rhine, and coming to aſſiſt the Dutch, had already ordered him to put his troops in winter quarters in Alſace and Lorrain. As the Court had not heard that he had obeyed, Louvois wrote to him in two different letters *, "That it was to be feared leſt the Rhine "ſhould freeze and hinder him from repaſſing it; "that he would endanger his army in a bad ſeaſon, "purely to puſh the Elector of Brandenburgh per- "haps ten leagues further; that the King being "unwilling to have his troops longer in the field, "poſitively commanded him to put them into win- "ter quarters, and expected to hear by the firſt cou- "rier that they were retired." Before the receipt of thoſe letters the Viſcount had already wrote to the Miniſter, "† That it would be prejudicial to the "King's ſervice to repaſs the Rhine ſo ſoon; that "ſince the march of the Imperialiſts towards Weſt- "phalia the Biſhop of Munſter was very much "diſcouraged; that the Count de Montecuculli "was uſing all his efforts to engage him in the Em- "peror's party; and that if the enemy was not "hindered from ravaging that Prelate's territories, "he would certainly put himſelf under the pro- "tection of the Empire.

The King orders the Viſcount to go into winter quarters, and not croſs the Rhine.

The Viſcount no leſs ſkilled in negotiations than in war, went to the Biſhop of Munſter at the caſtle of Ortembourg ſeven or eight leagues from Veſel, to confirm him in his alliance with the King, and promiſed to deliver him ſoon from the enemy's troops: he then went and joined his army at Veſel, and advanced towards the country of Marck. The Elector of Brandenburgh, to leave remarkable

The Viſcount keeps the Biſhop of Munſter ſteddy to his alliance with France.

* Theſe letters are dated the 17th and 22d of January 1673, at S. Germain en Laye. † The Viſcount's letter.

proofs

An. 1673. proofs of his reſentment againſt the two Prelates, laid their territories under contribution, gave up all to the fury and the licentiouſneſs of his ſoldiers, and reduced the inhabitants of the country to the greateſt miſery. The troops of Brandenburgh afterwards inveſted the town of Werle, which was in the Duchy of Weſtphalia, and belonged to the Elector of Cologne. The fifth January 5th. of January Major General Spaen went and beſieged the town with 6000 men; but it made a vigorous reſiſtance, and obſtinately refuſed to ſurrender: then the Elector went himſelf with a reinforcement of 4000 men. The Marquis de Rennel came to its relief, and obliged the Elector to raiſe the ſiege; this Prince returned to Billefeldt and General Spaen to Lipſtadt; Rennel followed the latter, attacked his rear-guard, and took ſeveral priſoners. After the raiſing of the ſiege, the Elector detached a ſtrong party of horſe and foot to ſurprize the troops of Munſter and Cologne: but that corps falling into an ambuſcade was almoſt all cut in pieces, and the remainder was carried to Varendorp.

The Elector of Brandenburgh beſieges Soeſt, and the Viſcount takes Unna.

Towards the end of January, the Count de Montecuculli being ill at Paderborn, aſked leave to return to Vienna. During his illneſs the Elector of Brandenburgh conſulted at Lipſtadt with the Dukes of Lorrain and Bournonville, about what meaſures ought to be taken to hinder the King's army from joining that of the two Prelates: after ſeveral conferences, wherein they could come to no determination, they ſet out from Lipſtadt the laſt of January, and marched towards Marck: their army was reduced to 20000 men, by reaſon of the garriſons which they had left in different places, and the loſſes they had ſuſtained in ſeveral attacks. The Elector ſeeing himſelf yet at the head of a conſiderable corps with thirty pieces of canon, and a good number of brave officers, advanced towards Soeſt, where he arrived the 4th of February; he was informed

formed the next day that the French army had joined that of Munſter and Cologne, and that the Viſcount de Turenne, whom he imagined to be on the banks of the Rhine, had laid ſiege to the town of Unna, which had 1000 ſoldiers in garriſon: the Elector detached 5000 horſe and foot to ſuccour it. The battalions of the French and Swiſs guards offered to force the place ſword in hand in preſence of the enemy: the Viſcount being unwilling to expoſe his ſoldiers at a time when he had need to be ſparing of them, attacked Unna in common form; he ordered it to be bombarded with five mortar pieces, cauſed a battery of eight canon to be erected, made a great breach in the walls, and got ready a mine which was to be ſprung the next day. Then Colonel Remsfort, who commanded in the town, ſurrendered, notwithſtanding the Elector's order, and the garriſon were made priſoners. An. 1673. Febr. 5th.

The Elector of Brandenburgh failing in all his projects, made ſome troops which he had about Ham advance towards Soeſt, where he lay encamped. The garriſon of Ham ſeeing themſelves abandoned, retired the next day, and endeavoured to join the main body of the army: the Viſcount without reſiſtance took poſſeſſion of the town which was ſtrong and well peopled, then made himſelf maſter of Kamen and Altena, almoſt without beſieging them, took above 2000 priſoners of the garriſons which he found in the ſeveral places, and without any other loſs than that of two officers and a few ſoldiers, at length drew near Soeſt. As there was in his way a caſtle on the Lippe called Berkembaum, defended by 200 men for the ſecurity of the bridge, the Viſcount detached a hundred men of the King's regiment, to make themſelves maſters of it, under the Marquis de Bourlemont, who carried it at the firſt aſſault. The enemy returned that ſame night in greater numbers, to endeavour to retake that important poſt; all

The Viſcount takes ſeveral other towns in Weſtphalia.

An. 1673. all their efforts were uſeleſs; they returned the next day to the number of 600 horſe and 800 foot; but Bourlemont ſuſtained their attack with ſo much bravery, that he killed near a hundred men, and forced the reſt to retire *. The Viſcount then advanced to Soeſt, where the Imperial and Electoral armies were encamped, with a deſign to give them battle. The Count de Montecuculli was ſtill ſick at Paderborn, and the Duke of Bournonville commanded in his room; the Elector deliberated whether it was proper to come to an engagement; but as the Germans were afraid of paſſing a great defile which was betwixt them and the French army, they thought fit to decamp and abandon part of their artillery and baggage. The Viſcount then marched to Soeſt, a large, fine and well fortified town, he entered it the 25th of February, and took up his quarters at Weſtbonne two leagues from the town: the ſame day the Count de Montecuculli ſet out from Paderborn to return to Vienna. People were ſurprized that this great General, during the whole campaign would never hazard a battle; ſome pretended that Prince Lobcowitz the Emperor's Miniſter had counterfeited the Imperial Seal, in order to forbid Montecuculli to fight. The Miniſter was afraid of engaging his Maſter in a war at a diſtance, while the Ottoman Port on another hand threatned to invade the Hereditary Dominions. Lobcowitz was diſgraced and baniſhed; but being recalled in a little time after, that clemency ſhewed that Leopold was really undetermined, and did not abſolutely condemn his Miniſter's conduct. A little after Montecuculli's departure, the Imperial and Electoral armies being chaſed out of the County of Marck, repaſſed the river Lippe; the troops of Brandenburgh retired into the County of Ravenſberg, and the Imperialiſts into that of Lippe.

* A letter from the Viſcount de Turenne, to the Marquis de Louvois.

The

The Viſcount reſolved to purſue them, drive them out of Weſtphalia, and make himſelf maſter of all the towns the Elector had there. It was a very ſevere ſeaſon, and the French were obliged to go over ſteep mountains, and paſs through very narrow defiles: while the army was marching through one of thoſe defiles, the Viſcount, exhauſted with watching and fatigue, laid himſelf down to ſleep behind a buſh; ſome ſoldiers ſeeing that the ſnow fell very faſt, immediately cut ſome branches of trees, and made round him a hut, which they covered with their cloaks: he awak'd while they were thus buſied in defending him from the injuries of the weather, and aſked them what they were amuſing themſelves with, when they ſhould be marching: *We have a mind*, ſaid they, *to preſerve our father; this is our grand affair; if we ſhould loſe him, who would lead us back again to our own country?* Turenne forced the paſſes where the enemy had left troops, poſſeſſed himſelf of Ravenſberg, Herword, Bilefeldt, and all the places belonging to the Elector in Weſtphalia, except Lipſtadt and Minden, which the troops of Munſter and Cologne had orders to block up. In the mean time the weather was exceſſive cold, and the ground was ſo frozen, that trenches could not be opened before the towns that were beſieged: the troops were expoſed without ſhelter to the fire of the muſketry, and canon of the beſieged. Not a man complained; the Viſcount was preſent every where, and ſupported the ſoldiers under their fatigue by ſharing in it. The two armies of the enemy; purſued and chaſed from poſt to poſt, quitted Weſtphalia, repaſſed the Weſer with precipitation, and went into the Biſhoprick of Hildeſheim. In paſſing the river ſome of the Emperor's troops finding themſelves mixed with the Elector's, would croſs over firſt for fear of being expoſed to the

An. 1673.

The enemy repaſs the Weſer, and quit Weſtphalia.

An. 1673. French: the diſpute grew warm, they came to blows, and the quarrel might have had very bad conſequences, if ſome of the General Officers had not come and put an end to it. The name of TURENNE was become ſo formidable to the two armies, that they fled at his approach, and thought nothing impoſſible to his ſoldiers, tho' fewer in number than theirs. The Viſcount one day ſent forty dragoons to view the country about Paderborn; they forced a paſſage where there was a regiment of Imperial Cuiraſſiers, killed fifteen or ſixteen of them, put the reſt to flight, enter'd their quarters, ſet them on fire, and retired without loſing a man.

The Elector of Brandenburgh retires to his dominions.

In the beginning of March the Viſcount advanced through the Biſhoprick of Paderborn to the town of Hoxter, where there was a bridge of ſtone over the Weſel. He took poſſeſſion of the town, drove out the garriſon which the Elector had left there, and cauſed two other bridges to be built in order to make himſelf maſter of the river, and purſue the enemy into the Biſhoprick of Hildeſheim. The Imperial and Electoral armies having already ruined the country, could not ſubſiſt any longer, and deſigned to extend themſelves in Lower Saxony, in the territories of the neighbouring Princes: but the Dukes of Brunſwick, Lunenburgh-Zell and Wolfenbuttel, fearing to draw the War into their country, defended the entrance into it with an army of 12000 men. Then the two armies of the enemy having neither expedients nor courage left, ſeparated: the Emperor's troops retired about the end of March into Franconia and thoſe of Brandenburgh into the principality of Halberſtadt. The Elector repaſſed the Elbe at Magdeburgh, and took refuge in Berlin his Capital. The Viſcount ſeeing that the Imperialiſts ſtill fled before him, and that there was no enemy to fight, returned into the country of Marck, fixed his head quarters at Soeſt, and gave up all the

Elector's territories in Weſtphalia to the diſcretion of his troops: they found there abundance of proviſions, put all under contribution, and enriched themſelves. An. 1673.

The Viſcount was the only man who did not make advantage of the ſpoils of the enemy, and evidenced in the whole of this famous expedition a diſintereſtedneſs as great as his valour. A General Officer one day propoſed to him a method of gaining four hundred thouſand livres in fifteen days, in ſuch a manner that the Court could never have come to the knowledge of it; he anſwered him with a noble ſimplicity: *I am very much obliged to you; but as I have often had opportunities of the like nature, without having ever made advantage of them, I think I ought not to alter my conduct at theſe years.* Near the ſame place, and about the ſame time, the inhabitants of a great town offered him 100000 crowns, if he would go out of his road, and not march with his troops through their town, he anſwered them, *As your town is not in the way by which I intended to lead the army, I cannot take the money you offer me.* The Viſcount's diſintereſtedneſs.

The Viſcount being at ſo great a diſtance could not ſend couriers regularly into France, and the Court was ſome time without hearing any news of him: then the enemies of his glory began to declaim againſt him, and gave out every where that he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up, and that the King's army was loſt by his entangling them unadviſedly in a country without towns or magazines. All the courtiers murmured; the King himſelf, who was very cautious of blaming thoſe whom the publick exclaimed againſt, one day with an air of uneaſineſs, let fall theſe words; *I have no news of the Viſcount de Turenne.* It was not long before he heard from him, and was informed that having driven the Elector of Brandenburgh from the Rhine to the Elbe, he had obliged him to take refuge in his Ca- The Court's uneaſineſs, and the courtiers cenſures of the Viſcount's conduct.

An. 1673. pital: detraction was silenced, and the Viscount's enemies were confounded.

The Elector of Brandenburgh makes peace with France.

The Elector of Brandenburgh not thinking himself safe enough even in Berlin, sent to the Viscount the Marquis d'Espense Beauveau who served under him, to desire a peace: Turenne dispatched a courier to the King, who sent him a full power to treat with the Elector. It was agreed that Louis XIV. should withdraw his troops from the territories of Brandenburgh; that he should restore to the Elector Wesel, and the other towns in dependence on the country of Cleves, which had been retained many years by the States General; that the Elector should forsake the alliance of Holland, and renounce all the engagements he had entered into against the interests of France; that he should continue neuter for the time to come, and engage the Duke of Neubourg to be security for his fidelity. The treaty was signed the tenth of April, and ratified about the end of May.

Then the Viscount made the Bishop of Munster give up all the places belonging to the Elector of Brandenburgh, and went himself out of Westphalia, crossed the Principality of Berg, entered the County of Nassau, and penetrated into the heart of Germany. Being indefatigable at the head of his troops who followed him with joy, he proposed to them as to his companions and children, not to give themselves any respite to enter into Franconia, the Country of Turingia, and that of Gotha, in order to drive away the Emperor's troops, who had a mind to return to the Rhine. The Imperialists fearing to be intercepted, and obliged to fight, got into Bohemia with all expedition; and the Viscount

June 6. in the beginning of June continuing his rout through the Country of Hesse and the County of Waldeck, went and encamped at Wetzlar near Frankfort

along

along the river Lohn, there to wait the reſult of the deliberations of the Court of Vienna. An. 1673.

While the Viſcount de Turenne was thus employed on the Rhine, the Prince of Condé marched to Utrecht to preſerve and extend the King's conqueſts there; but the inundations ſtopt him every where. He endeavoured in vain to draw off the waters; a diſtemper which ſeized him determined him to leave Holland, and repaſs the Meuſe, in order to beſiege Bois-le-duc. In the beginning of the campaign the King entred Brabant at the head of 40000 men, inveſted Maeſtricht the tenth of June, and took it in thirteen days after opening the trenches. Having repaired its fortifications, he deſigned to make himſelf maſter of other towns: but the Dutch having opened their ſluices drowned all the country from Bois-le-duc to Bergen-op-zoom. Louis changed his reſolution, marched to the frontiers of the Empire with a part of his army, and left the other conſiſting of 20000 men with the Prince of Condé to keep an eye on Flanders.

The Prince of Condé beſieges Bois-le-duc, and the King Maeſtricht.

June 29th.

Spain alarmed at the extraordinary ſucceſs of France, and knowing that if the King ſhould once make himſelf maſter of the ſeven United Provinces, he would ſoon get poſſeſſion of the other ten, awakened the Emperor's attention, and vigorouſly ſollicited him to join with her to oppoſe Louis XIVth's progreſs. The Emperor and Spain concluded a treaty with the Dutch at the Hague, by which Leopold promiſed the States General to make a diverſion on the Rhine with a powerful army: Philip engaged to declare war againſt Louis XIV. and the States General were to make no peace with France till the Catholick King was put in poſſeſſion of all that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had taken in the Low Countries ſince the peace of the Pyrenees. The Emperor got together in Bohemia an army of 30000 men, the command of which he gave to the Count de Monte-

The Emperor and Spain unite with Holland againſt France.

Auguſt 26.

An. 1673. cuculli, who decamped from Egra, and advanced towards Franconia. The Viſcount de Turenne having joined his troops to thoſe of Cologne and Munſter, left Wetzlar, paſſed the Main at Selingenſtat with an army of 20000 men, and poſted himſelf oppoſite to Aſchaffembourg in the Electorate of Mentz: * from thence he ſent the Marquis de Pierrefitte to take poſſeſſion of Fridberg, and drive out the Imperialiſts who had ſettled there in the ſpring. This expedition opened to the French army an entrance into the territory of Frankfort: the Viſcount however had no deſign upon that town; his intention was to make himſelf maſter of the courſe of the Main, to march along the higher Palatinate, and facilitate his joining the Elector of Bavaria, who had given ſome hopes of favouring the King's arms on the frontiers. The Court of Vienna being attentive to the Elector's ſecret proceedings, had taken all neceſſary precautions to hinder him from joining the Viſcount. A letter was intercepted from the Duke of Bavaria, wherein he told the French General, that the paſſes and defiles were ſo beſet with the Emperor's troops, that he did not think it prudent to attempt the intended junction: this diſappointment obliged Turenne to alter his meaſures. In the middle of September he left Aſchaffembourg, and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the paſſages of the Main.

The Prince of Orange deceives the Duke of Luxembourg, and takes Naerden.

In the mean time the face of affairs was entirely changed in Holland: after the Prince of Condé had repaſſed the Meuſe, the French had no forces in the heart of the United Provinces ſufficient for any enterprize. The Prince of Orange judging this a proper time to act, made ſome troops file off ſecretly towards Amſterdam and Muyden, lined with infantry the entrenchments which ſecured the paſſage into the Province of Holland; and to keep the Duke of

* Walkenier.

Lux-

Luxembourg, who commanded in Utrecht, from ſuſpecting any thing, ſent ſome troops by ſea and by the Wahal to attack Bommel. The Duke not penetrating into the Prince's deſign, came to Tiel with 5000 men to ſuccour Bommel and Grave. The Prince of Orange ſeeing that his ſtratagem had ſucceeded, marched towards Naerden, inveſted the place with an army of 25000 men, before the Duke of Luxembourg had leiſure to provide for its ſecurity. The town ſurrendered, and no leſs rejoicings were made in Holland for the taking of Naerden than had been in France three months before for the reduction of Maeſtricht. This conqueſt encouraged the States General, and from that time fortune continued to favour them. The horrors of war were removed from the innermoſt parts of the United Provinces to the Spaniſh Netherlands. An. 1673. Septemb. 14.

The Count de Montecuculli ſoon arrived in Franconia, where the troops of that circle and thoſe of the Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Lorrain having joined him, his army amounted to 40000 men: he advanced towards Nuremberg, from whence he might either march towards the upper or lower Rhine, in order to invade Alſace, or go and join the Prince of Orange in Holland. Turenne having made himſelf maſter of all the paſſes on the Main, except that of Wurtzbourg, whoſe Biſhop had promiſed to obſerve a neutrality, Montecuculli could neither go into Holland nor Alſace without beating the French army. The Viſcount waited for him ſome time about Aſchaffembourg; but ſeeing his ſlowneſs, he went to meet him in order to offer him battle, paſſed the Tauber at Mariendal, advanced to Rotting, and drew near to the Imperialiſts who were encamped nigh Rottembourg. The infantry of the Viſcount's firſt line was commanded by the Marquis de S. Abre, Foucault was at the head of the cavalry in the right wing, and the Count de

The Viſcount advances to the Count de Montecuculli, and obliges him to retire.

An. 1673. Guiche on the Left. The Count de Lude and the Chevalier du Pleſſis commanded the other line. Montecuculli could not decamp without hazarding the defeat of his rear-guard; but being more apprehenſive of a general action, he reſolved to retire. To conceal his deſign, he marched up as if he had a mind to fight, which induced the Viſcount de Turenne to draw up his army in battalia: Montecuculli took the advantage of that moment, and while he ſeemed to be making a great ſtir to put his firſt line in order, he made his ſecond file off with all its equipage behind a neighbouring mountain. Scarce was the French army drawn up, when they ſaw the Imperialiſts firſt line file off as the ſecond had done: the whole army thus retired in good order, and gained a place ſurrounded with mountains and moraſſes between Ochſenfort and Wurtzbourg. The Viſcount immediately followed the Imperialiſts, attacked their rear, and took ſome of their baggage and ammunition; and not being able to bring them to an engagement, he encamped about three o'clock in the afternoon, on a very high ground in their neighbourhood, at a monaſtry of the Carthuſians called *Tengelhauſen*; ſo that the enemy were ſtill in the ſame circumſtances, and could neither go towards Holland by the Main, he being maſter of it, nor towards Alſace, without expoſing their flank. He had the river on his left, tho' a little too far off, a deep hollow way on his right, and behind him a rich and fertile country, from whence he might get proviſions in abundance for two months.

The Count de Montecuculli gains the Biſhop of Wurtzbourg.

Turenne continued fifteen days in this ſituation, during which time nothing conſiderable happened, except ſome light ſkirmiſhes between detachments from the two armies. The French General's chief view was to diſpute with the Imperialiſts the paſſage of the Main, and in caſe they attempted it, to fall upon their rear: Montecuculli principally applied himſelf

himſelf to intercept the proviſions which came to the French from Frankfort in order to oblige them to decamp from ſo advantageous a poſt. This project was ſoon favoured by an event which had like to have brought the French army into a terrible perplexity. The Count de Montecuculli gained the Biſhop of Wurtzbourg, who broke his word to the French, received an Imperial garriſon into his town and delivered up its bridge to the enemy. The German General cauſed his canon and heavy baggage to be carried immediately thither, and became maſter of the Main from Wurtzbourg to Wertheim, from whence he carried off an immenſe quantity of proviſions which the inhabitants had got together for the uſe of the French army; this obliged the Viſcount to abandon his poſt near Ochſenfort and go down the Main, ſtill coaſting the enemy to hinder them from paſſing it. An. 1673.

Montecuculli decamps again.

In the beginning of October Montecuculli decamped in order to extend his quarters in the County of Reineck from the Lohr to Frammerſbach, behind the foreſt of Speſhardt, where he ſtop'd, ſtill keeping the river Main between the Viſcount and him. The third of the ſame month he detached General Sporck with 6000 horſe towards Aſchaffembourg. The Viſcount thinking that their deſign was to get poſſeſſion of the town, detached 4000 foot and 2000 horſe under the conduct of Count de Guiche to cover it; which obliged Sporck to change his rout and return to Lohr. Turenne advanced with his whole army deſcending along the Main towards Miltembourg, where he received a re-inforcement of 4000 men, which were ſent from Alſace under the Count de Roye. Montecuculli made ſeveral other marches and counter-marches to oblige the French army to leave Franconia; but the Viſcount was reſolved not to paſs the Main till he ſaw the Imperialiſts engaged in the foreſt of Speſhardt and deter-

An. 1673. determined to go either towards Holland or Alsace.

The King orders the Duke of Luxembourg to evacuate Holland.

While the two armies were thus endeavouring to surprise one another, Spain in consequence of her treaty with the States General, ordered the Count de Monterei, Governor of the Low-Countries, to declare war against France: this declaration occasioned that of the King three days after, and hostilities soon began in Hainault and Flanders. The Duke of Luxembourg sent a considerable corps thither to the Prince of Condé; and the King had only 4000 men that kept the field in Holland. This scarcity of troops together with the continual overflowing of the country put it out of the power of the French to undertake any thing new, which made Louis resolve to abandon his conquests in Holland.

The Prince of Orange marches towards Bonn. Montecuculli joins the Stadtholder.

The same day that Spain declared War against France, the Prince of Orange joined near Herentals a part of his troops to those of Spain, and entered the territories of Juliers and Cologne with an army of 25,000 men. Having laid waste both those countries, he marched towards Bonn in order to besiege it, and sent to Montecuculli to repair thither with all expedition. The 20th of October the Imperialists left Lohr and went and encamped along the Main from the small town of Hochst to Mentz. Montecuculli passed the river by a bridge of boats and took up his head quarters at Flersheim; the Viscount could not conjecture what road he intended to take. It was of greater consequence to hinder him from invading Alsace than from joining the Prince of Orange: the Dutch being joined with the Spaniards had less need of assistance than formerly; the Prince of Condé had led a great part of the French troops into Flanders, and the King designed to abandon Holland. Turenne with reason concluded that Montecuculli would march towards Alsace where all was almost without defence: Strasburgh belonged to the Empire, Brisac was ill-

fortified;

fortified; Scheleſtat, Colmar, Landau, Befort and Haguenau were razed, and there was an eaſy paſſage into Lorrain, the three Biſhopricks and Champagne. He kept the ſtricteſt watch on the ſide of Alſace and narrowly obſerved Montecuculli's motions, whoſe chief aim was to conceal his march from him. The German General yet remembered the Viſcount's irruption into Bavaria before the peace of Munſter; he then ſaw what he could do, and was ever after afraid of coming to an engagement with him; he was ſenſible that it was the ſureſt way to make uſe of ſtratagem, and ſet his men to work at a bridge of boats at Weiſſenau above Mentz, as if he deſigned to go up the Rhine in order to enter Alſace. Having choſen a place in the river where there was an Iſle he laid a half bridge over one of the arms of the Rhine; and in all haſte made a flying bridge over the other: the troops paſſed there making as if they deſigned to march towards Alſace by the Countries of Oppenheim, Linange and Neuſtadt, The Viſcount being informed of their motions, left his poſt at Miltembourg, croſſed the country of Odenwaldt, drew near the Necker, paſſed that river on the 25th at Ladembourg, came to Philipſburgh and detached 500 horſe who croſſed the Rhine at Oppenheim to inform themſelves of the march of the Imperialiſts. Montecuculli who had made uſe of this ſtratagem only to make it be believed that he was going to Alſace, ſent his infantry down the Rhine in boats to join the Prince of Orange, while his cavalry repaſſed the river and filed off by Veteravia with the ſame view. The Archbiſhop of Triers having broke the neutrality and abandoned the intereſts of France by a treachery like that of the Biſhop of Wurtzbourg, offered the Imperialiſts his bridges on the Rhine and the Moſelle at Coblentz: the next day the Viſcount paſſed the Rhine at Philipſburgh, came and encamped at Lachen near Neuſtadt, and croſ-

An. 1673.

ſing

An. 1673. ſing the Palatinate went to Creutznac in order with all expedition to get into the Country of Triers by the Hundſtruck: he would certainly have intercepted Montecuculli if the Elector had not delivered up his bridges. The Imperialiſts having paſſed the Rhine and the Moſelle, joined the Prince of Orange near Coblentz, who immediately went and beſieged Bonn. The town being inveſted by three different armies 17 Novemb. was obliged to ſurrender after a ſiege of nine days.

The evacuation of Holland and the Duke of Luxembourg's glorious retreat.

The reduction of Bonn and the junction of the enemies three armies obliged the Duke of Luxembourg to leave the United Provinces: he put moſt of the towns under contribution, formed a corps out of all the garriſons, left the artillery and hoſtages at Maeſtricht and Grave, and ſpeedily returned into France with a rich booty. Then Holland emerged from the waters, and the Provinces of Guelderland, Utrecht and Over-Iſſel recovered their liberty.

The Viſcount's generoſity.

The bad ſucceſs of this campaign cooled the King of England, the Archbiſhop of Cologne and the Biſhop of Munſter; France ſaw herſelf upon the point of being forſaken by her allies and left alone to maintain a war againſt the Empire, Spain and Holland. The Viſcount de Turenne could not diſſemble his uneaſineſs, and there appeared in his countenance an air of thoughtfulneſs and melancholy. Having put his army into winter quarters in upper and lower Alſace, Lorrain and Hainault, he returned to Court; the King received him with great demonſtrations of eſteem and affection: his Majeſty talked frequently with him in private of the means of reeſtabliſhing affairs the next campaign, ſpoke to him one day of the fatal conſequences of Louvois's counſels and gave him a fine opportunity to revenge himſelf on the Miniſter: the Viſcount contented himſelf with anſwering the King, *that the Marquis de Louvois was very capable of doing his*

his Majeſty great ſervice in the cabinet; but that he had not experience enough in war to take upon him the direction of it. This moderation and generoſity extremely pleaſed the young King, and he ſaid to him, *Though all my Miniſters ſhould hate you, my heart ſhall be always for you.* He then ſpoke to him of the Marquis de S. Abre, and aſſured him that that officer ſhould never more ſerve under him. Turenne aſking the reaſon, the King told him that S. Abre had very much blamed his conduct, and written to Louvois *that if he had been conſulted, he could have ſaved Bonn without hazarding Alſace. Why then did not he ſpeak to me?* ſaid the Viſcount with ſimplicity, *I ſhould have heard him with pleaſure and profited by his advice.* He then excuſed S. Abre, commended him, gave an exact account of his ſervices, obtained a gratuity for him, and entreated the King not to deprive him of ſo able a Lieutenant General. An. 1673.

The end of the FIFTH BOOK.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Viſcount de TURENNE.

BOOK the SIXTH.

An. 1674. The Stadtholderſhip is made hereditary in the family of Orange.

THE Prince of Orange's prudence, valour and unexpected ſucceſs, determined the States General in the beginning of the month of February to make the offices of *Stadtholder*, *Admiral*, and *Captain General* of the ſeven United Provinces hereditary in his perſon and thoſe of his male deſcendants. Thus at the age of twenty three he was raiſed in the Republick to a higher pitch of glory and power than any of his predeceſſors had been: he then employed all his credit to draw off his uncle the King of England, the Biſhop of Munſter and the Elector of Cologne from the intereſts of France, and to ſtrengthen the Alliance which he had already made with the Emperor, Spain and Denmark, and in which he had a mind to engage the principal members of the Germanick body. The King continued, during the ſpring, to evacuate all the places he had taken on the Rhine and the Meuſe; he kept only Grave and Maeſtricht: Emerick, Rhees, Veſel, Burick and Fort Schenck were reſtored to the Elector of Brandenburgh, according to the treaty which the Viſcount had made with him the preceding

ing year. The Elector of Cologne was put again in poſſeſſion of Rhimberg and Nuys; and the garriſons of the evacuated towns returned to France under the conduct of the Marſhal de Bellefonds and the Count de Lorge. An. 1674.

The King of England, the Biſhop of Munſter and the Elector of Cologne quit the French intereſt.

The private treaty between Holland and England had been managed with ſo much addreſs during the winter that it was at length concluded, even amidſt the preparations which both parties were making to renew the war. King Charles II. had long rejected the propoſals that had been made him of breaking with France: the Republicans and Proteſtant zealots of the three Kingdoms were far from conſenting to deſtroy a Republick that was one of the principal ſupports of the reformed religion; the humour of his people, the ſollicitations of his Parliament, and the intrigues of foreign Miniſters, made Charles encline to a peace; but that which determined him was his fear to loſe the trade of the Mediterranean by a war with Spain: he ordered Sir William Temple to draw up the articles at London with the Marquis de Freſno the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, who had received full power from the States General; and after ſome conferences the treaty of Breda was reſtored in all its extent. Holland inſiſted upon recalling the Engliſh troops which ſerved in France; but thoſe regiments being devoted to the Viſcount de Turenne, and refuſing to leave him, England promiſed to let them drop for want of recruits, and allowed the Dutch to levy in Great Britain as many ſoldiers as they pleaſed. The treaty being ſigned at Weſtminſter, the threatnings which the Emperor continually uſed againſt the Biſhop of Munſter and the Elector of Cologne made ſuch impreſſions upon thoſe two Prelates, that they likewiſe abandoned the intereſts of France. Febr. 19.

Several Princes of Germany enter into a new league againſt France.

The unfaithfulneſs of Louis XIVth's allies revived the hopes of all the Princes of Germany; thoſe

An. 1674. thoſe who had hitherto remained neutral, declared againſt him: the Elector of Brandenburgh thought he might with impunity violate the treaty he had ſigned; the Landgrave of Heſſe, the Elector of Triers, the Elector Palatine, the Dukes of Brunſwick and Luxembourg likewiſe entered into a league with the Dutch; in a word all the Powers of Germany were drawn into it, except the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Hanover, who continued neutral. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſappointments the King ſtill entertained as great deſigns as ever; he reſolved to make himſelf amends for the loſs of the United Provinces by the conqueſt of Franche-Comté. He went thither himſelf in the month of April with a powerful army; he ſent another to the frontiers of Spain under Marſhal de Schomberg, the Prince of Condé commanded a third in Flanders, in order to watch the Prince of Orange's motions; and the Viſcount de Turenne returned into Germany with a fourth, which conſiſted only of 10,000 men. Before he left the Court, the great Condé did not think it below him to aſk the Viſcount's advice with regard to the method he ought to take in carrying on the war in Flanders. "Make few ſieges, replied the Viſcount, and give battle frequently: "when you have rendered your army ſuperior to "that of the enemy both as to the number and "goodneſs of troops, and when you are maſter of "the open country, the villages will be as good "as fortified towns to you: but people think it "more honourable to take a ſtrong town, than to "conquer a Province.

The Viſcount covers Franche-Comté and the King makes himſelf maſter of it.

* The Duke of Lorrain being perſuaded that if he enter'd Franche-Comté, a great number of the Lor-

* Moſt of the facts in this book relating to the war are taken from Fremont d'Ablancourt's Manuſcript Memoirs, the Abbot Raguenet's Manuſcript hiſtory, and the Viſcount's two laſt campaigns, written by Deſchamps, which were printed 1678, three years after the Viſcount's death; but we owe to the Marquis

Lorrainers would ſoon follow him thither, took the field about the beginning of May with two thouſand horſe, which were all his troops, and advanced to Rhinfield above Bâle, where he propoſed to croſs the Rhine. At the ſame time the Viſcount advanced towards Switzerland with two regiments of horſe lately levied in Alſace and encamped on the tenth of May at Heſingen a village a league from Bâle: the Magiſtrates of that town encouraged by his preſence refuſed to grant a paſſage to the Duke of Lorrain, who continued about Rhinfeld till the ſixth of June without doing any thing: then the Duke ſeeing that the King was maſter of Franche Comté, went and joined Count Caprara near Heidelberg, where the Duke of Bournonville the Emperor's General who had ſet out from Egra was to meet them with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot. An. 1674.

The Viſcount who had returned from Bâle to Hochfeld near Saverne being informed of their march reſolved to intercept them and fight them before their junction: he ſent orders to get ready a bridge of boats at Philipſburgh, which was done in three days; he gathered together the cavalry that were in quarters, and took 1500 men out of ſix battalions which he left in Alſace, ſet out from Hochfeld the twelfth of June, made his troops march without baggage and with extraordinary diligence, and paſſed the Rhine at Philipſburgh on the fourteenth at noon: from thence he took ſix pieces of canon and proviſions for three days, carried along with him the regiments of Beaupres and Calvo, Fay's dragoons, the battalions of Douglas, du Pleſſis, and de la Ferté, with a fourth compoſed of the companies of ſeveral corps under the name of

The Viſcount's expeditious march.

12 June.

quis d'Imecourt Lieutenant General in the King's army who was preſent at all theſe actions, ſeveral particulars which are not elſewhere to be found.

An. 1674. Picardie, which were all encamped at Philipſburgh: the Viſcount formed his vanguard of them and continued his march through the Palatinate. The ſame day that he paſſed the river he defeated and took priſoners 200 of the Imperial foot after a very ſharp engagement at a farm called Bruckhauſen: he afterwards routed 150 horſe of the regiment of Prince Erneſt of Brandenburgh-Bareith, who were marching to ſuſtain that infantry, and at night he arrived at Hockenum where he encamped: as he ſtill feared ſome ſurprize, he went himſelf and viewed the advanced guards at night, to ſee if all the men were in their poſts. As he was going through the camp he drew near a tent where ſeveral young ſoldiers who were eating together, were complaining that he had made them make ſuch a long march to no purpoſe: an old ſoldier who had been ſo lamed in the action of Bruckhauſen that he could not raiſe his hand to his mouth, anſwered them: "You do not know our father; he would not have expoſed us to ſo much fatigue if he had not ſome great thing in view which we cannot yet find out." The young ſoldiers immediately changed their note, and began to drink the General's health: The Viſcount afterwards acknowledged that he had never felt a more ſenſible pleaſure. The fifteenth of June Turenne being aſſured that the enemy had not yet paſſed, marched towards Bretten through long defiles in the woods: he halted at noon near the village of S. Lene and taking his rout to the left, went and encamped at Wiſlock a ſmall town defended by 200 men of the Elector Palatine's, ſome militia and a great number of peaſants who had retired thither: the Viſcount being perſuaded that he ſhould meet the enemy the next day, would not attack the place, and thought it more proper to let his troops reſt that night: they had marched almoſt thirty leagues in four days, that is from Hochfeld to Wiſlock, where

15 June.

the Viſcount thought he ſhould aſſuredly meet the enemy: nor was he miſtaken. An. 1674.

By break of day he continued his rout towards Epinghen; after four or five hours march when he had paſſed the village of Hoffen, he diſcovered the enemy between eight and nine in the morning, on an eminence beyond Sintzheim a ſmall town in the Palatinate equally diſtant from Philipſburgh on the Rhine and Hailbron on the Neckar: it is ſituated on the banks of the river Elſatz, which runs to the right and left through a long meadow that is overlooked by a mountain which has a ſteep aſcent towards the bottom, but a very eaſy one towards the top; the ſummit is a plain ſhut in behind by a great wood, and large enough to contain an army in battalia: the Duke of Lorrain and Count Caprara's army conſiſted of 4000 Imperial Cuiraſſiers, 1000 Saxon horſe, 2000 horſe of Lorrain and 2000 foot, making all together above 9000 men. They immediately took poſſeſſion of an old abbey fortified like a caſtle and ſituated between the town and the mountain: they then ſent the regiment of Streing with 400 dragoons into the town whoſe walls had been lately repaired, and laſtly they drew up their army on the top of the mountain in two lines, the firſt of which was commanded by the Duke of Lorrain and the ſecond by Count Caprara; thus they had behind them a great wood; their right was ſecured by the caſtle and town; their left by a chain of ſteep mountains which extended a great way towards Hailbron; and before them the river Elſatz formed as it were a double trench, which it was neceſſary to paſs before it was poſſible to get at the town or mountain.

The ſituation of Sintzheim and of the Emperor's forces.

The French army was compoſed of 5000 horſe and the four battalions of Douglas, du Pleſſis, la Ferté and Picardie which made above 2000 men; of 1500 foot detached from the regiments of Champagne, Turenne, Languedoc, Burgundy, Hamilton

The number of the Viſcount's troops and difficulties he had to conquer.

An. 1674. milton and Monmouth: of 400 of the Queen's dragoons and Fays independent troop of dragoons. The two armies were almoſt equal in number, with this difference, that the French had more infantry and the Germans more cavalry; but the Imperialiſts were much more advantageouſly poſted. The Viſcount having entered the plain of Sintzheim, could not begin the attack till he had croſſed the two branches of the Elſatz, where there were no bridges, and taken poſſeſſion of the avenues of Sintzheim which were full of gardens, hedges and marſhes, and defended by muſqueteers: he muſt then take the town and the caſtle and march by a very narrow defile on the declivity of the mountain to a triangular ſpot of ground which could hardly contain ſeven or eight ſquadrons abreaſt: this ſpot of ground grew broader in the aſcent towards the enemy, but it was dangerous and difficult to form lines ſo near them: beſides the advantage of ſituation, Caprara's troops were freſh, had come from good quarters and made but ſmall journeys from Hockenum to Sintzheim: but the Viſcount's ſoldiers had been fatigued during the winter and had marched near thirty leagues in four days. If the French had been defeated their retreat would have been dangerous and difficult in an enemy's country covered with woods and full of armed peaſants; the loſs of a battle in the beginning of the campaign would have diſhonoured the General and diſcouraged the ſoldiers. The Viſcount ſaw in a moment all theſe obſtacles and dangers; but he was ſenſible on the other hand how much he hazarded if he gave the Duke of Bournonville time to join the enemy, and how glorious it would be to open the campaign by a victory over the braveſt of the Emperor's troops encamped in ſo advantageous a poſt: theſe conſiderations determined him to offer battle.

The town and caſtle taken.

All the cavalry of his vanguard were already in the plain; the infantry were come up, and ſix pieces

pieces of canon, which were all his artillery, fired from time to time acroſs the valley, when the enemy's ſquadrons came to reconnoitre. All the army having paſſed, the Viſcount immediately detached his dragoons, who alighted from their horſes, with ſome infantry ſuſtained by la Ferté's grenadiers and fifty fuſiliers out of each battalion, to attack the avenues of Sintzheim. Seſan, Major General of the army and the Chevalier d' Hocquincourt at the head of the dragoons drove the enemy from the banks of the river, diſlodged them from the vineyards, the gardens, and the ſuburbs, and were expoſed to the fire from the walls; but in leſs than an hour they got to the brink of the ditch and became maſters of all the places about the town: the enemy threw themſelves into it in proportion as they were preſſed, and entrenched themſelves behind the gates which they barricaded with veſſels full of earth and beams of timber laid acroſs. The dragoons commanded by the Chevalier d' Hocquincourt finding the bridge broken down, threw themſelves into the water and paſſed the ditch: the attack laſted above an hour and a half; the detachment broke down one of the gates of the town, and took 400 priſoners, the reſt were either killed or put to flight. The vigorouſneſs of this action ſo terrified thoſe who were in the caſtle that they abandoned their poſt and fled: the Duke of Lorrain immediately ſent thither a regiment of infantry: but a detachment from that of Champagne had already taken poſſeſſion of it, and the officer who advanced at the head of the enemy having been killed the reſt fled. An. 1674.

The Viſcount being thus maſter of the town and the caſtle, poſted ſome infantry there, immediately drove the enemy from the vineyards and hedges round about, then diſlodged them from all the eminences between the caſtle and the Imperial army, poſſeſſed himſelf of the two ſides of the defile and lined them

The Viſcount marches towards the mountain where the enemy was.

An. 1674. with muſqueteers; he then made his whole army advance; the troops croſſed the two branches of the river and paſſed the defile without oppoſition; as they arrived he drew them up in order of battle upon the triangular ground which was encloſed on the right by a vineyard, and on the left by a long hedge: he had already thrown into the vineyard, by a *rideau* which went along the foot of the mountain, the three battalions of du Pleſſis, Douglas and la Ferté, and the battalion of Picardy had upon going out of the defile poſted itſelf behind the great hedge. He gave the command of the right wing to the Marquis de S. Abre Lieutenant General, under whom Beauveſé commanded the cavalry, the Counts de Maulevrier and de Roye ſerved as Major-Generals, my Lord Douglas, the Chevalier du Pleſſis and du Piloy as Brigadiers, and the Chevalier du Bouillon in quality of volunteer. Lieutenant General Foucault, who was to be at the head of the left wing, had under him the Counts d'Auvergne and Marck Major-Generals, and my Lord Hamilton, the Chevaliers d'Humieres and Coulange Brigadiers. The command of the Corps-de-reſerve was given to the Marquis de Renty: the Viſcount was to poſt himſelf in the center and had for Aid-de-camps the Marquis d'Harcourt afterwards Marſhal of France, the Marquis de Ruvigny afterwards my Lord Galloway: Chevalier de Sillery and Silly Guenegaud.

The battle of Sintzheim.

The Viſcount drew up his cavalry in ſeveral lines and poſted platoons of foot between the ſquadrons: ſcarce had he formed his third line, when S. Abre who was at the head of the firſt, advanced through an indiſcreet ardour beyond the long hedge and vineyard and by that means uncovered his flanks: the enemy ſeeing that imprudent ſtep, fell upon him, hemm'd him in, broke through his line and put it in great diſorder; but the Viſcount came

came up immediately and put a ſtop to the confuſi- An. 1674.
on: the ſeveral platoons of foot that were placed between the ſquadrons made a terrible fire upon the Emperor's cuiraſſiers and ſtopt their progreſs: the duſt that roſe having hindred them from ſeeing the diſorder into which they had put the firſt line commanded by S. Abre, they retired and drew up in battalia. The Viſcount took the advantage of that moment to extend his lines in as great a front as thoſe of the enemy, ſo that he had eighteen ſquadrons in his firſt line, whereas a little before he had only eight: he then advanced towards the enemy with his cavalry in the center and the infantry on the two wings, which came from the hedge on the left and the vineyard on the right: the conflict was ſharp; there was not a ſquadron but charged ſeveral times; the ſtandards and colours were taken and retaken on both ſides: the duſt was ſo great that the combatants ſcarcely ſaw one another; friends and enemies mixed ſometimes without knowing each other, and without being able to rejoin their reſpective corps; the confuſion encreaſed the ſlaughter. The Viſcount, not contented with going amidſt the ranks and encouraging the ſoldiers by his voice and geſture, animated them by his example, gave his orders every where with tranquillity, threw himſelf among the Imperialiſts and was more than half an hour in the midſt of the Emperor's cuiraſſiers: the enemy rally'd ſeveral times, but were ſtill broken and repulſed. The Duke of Lorrain and Count Caprara ſeeing that the French army had gained ground, thought it proper to retire, and made the ſecond line draw off towards the wood, while the firſt ſuſtained the ſhock of the French; at length the heat of the battle abating on both ſides, the enemy taking advantage of the cloud of duſt moved with their left wing towards the wood, and threw themſelves into the defile which croſſed it: ſome ſquadrons made a ſtand

An. 1674. in the rear to cover their retreat, but after a ſlight diſcharge they followed the reſt, and diſappeared in an inſtant. The Viſcount having viewed the borders of the wood, puſhed the Imperialiſts in perſon for ſome time at the head of a body of cavalry: as the enemy divided themſelves in ſeveral roads in a covered and uneven country, and as his infantry was fatigued by a long battle after a weariſome march, he contented himſelf with detaching the Marquis de Renty with 400 horſe to purſue the runaways, and returned to the field of battle, where he found his troops in as good order as if they had not fought. The principal Officers, the Colonels, and ſeveral others, went and congratulated him on the ſucceſs which they acknowledged was entirely owing to his prudent conduct: he anſwered them, *That with ſoldiers like them a man ought to attack with boldneſs, becauſe he was ſure to conquer.*

The purſuit of the enemy with the number of the dead and wounded.

The Marquis de Renty cloſely followed the enemy to Hailbron, where he underſtood that they had paſſed in ſeveral corps the fords between that town and Vimpfen: their baggage had marched in the morning, and a part of their troops had begun the ſame rout before the end of the battle; the reſt took the road to Heidelberg, ſo that the detachment could not come up with them. They retreated in ſuch a fright, that ſeveral of them not thinking themſelves ſafe after paſſing the Neckar, went above ſixteen leagues farther, and did not ſtop till they got to Frankfort. The battle, with the actions that preceded it, laſted near four hours: the French loſt Coulanges and Rochefort, two Colonels of horſe, near 180 ſubaltern officers, and about 1100 common ſoldiers: the Marquis de S. Abre, the Chevalier de Sillery and Beauveſé were mortally wounded; the Chevalier de Bouillon, the Count de la Marck, the Marquiſſes d'Aubeterre and la Salle, and moſt of the ſubaltern officers were likewiſe wounded. On the

the enemy's ſide there were near 2000 killed, five or ſix hundred taken priſoners together with ſeveral ſtandards, kettle-drums, and 40 waggons loaded with baggage. After the battle the Viſcount having got together his horſe, paſſed the wood with all his army, and encamped at night near Weibſtat, a ſmall town in the Biſhoprick of Spires, where the ſoldiers were very well refreſhed after their fatigue. The next day the army returned and encamped at Sintzheim in a valley along the brook, where they had leiſure to examine the field of battle, and to know better than in the fight itſelf how advantageouſly the enemy had been ſituated, the difficulty there was in marching up to them, and the particulars of an action that was performed with ſo much conduct and valour. An. 1674.

The enemy having been chaſed beyond the Neckar, the Viſcount thought proper to repaſs the Rhine in order to obſerve the motions they might make towards France, and at the ſame time ſubſiſt his army in the moſt plentiful parts of the Palatinate: he immediately ſent ſome horſe to pillage Wiſlock, marched to Mingelſheim, where the army ſtayed two days, croſſed the Rhine at Philipſburgh, where he left the four battalions he had taken from thence, and went and encamped at Lachen, a great village in a very fruitful plain a league and a half from the town of Neuſtadt, which affords proviſions and wine in abundance. The army received there a reinforcement of ſixteen battalions, 6000 horſe in four brigades, and two regiments of the King's and Queen's dragoons, ſo that it amounted to 16000 men. The Viſcount during his ſtay at Lachen, detached ſeveral parties on both ſides of the Rhine to learn news of the enemy, went to view the paſſages thro' the mountains, ſpread abroad reports of his going upon ſeveral enterprizes, and the 3d of July, after a feign'd march towards Keyſerloutre The Viſcount's marches and counter-marches on this and the other ſide of the Rhine.

An. 1674. on the other ſide of the mountain, he made the army advance ſtrait to Philipſburgh, again paſſed the Rhine there, took with him the four battalions and twenty pontoons, and went and encamped the ſame day at Hockenum. On the morrow he continued his march towards the Neckar, and leaving Heidelberg on the right, which town ſaluted him with ſome diſcharges of canon, he arrived by eleven in the morning at the village of Weiblingen on the Neckar a league and a half from Lademburg.

The Duke of Bournonville joins the Duke of Lorrain and Count Caprara.

After the rout of Sintzheim, the Imperialiſts having got together their army at Heidelberg, marched towards Worms; they had encreaſed their number by the junction of the Duke of Bournonville's troops. They amounted in all to 13 or 14000 men, and came and poſted themſelves on the Neckar, having the town of Lademburg on their left and Manheim on their right. Being encamped on the banks of the river five days before the Viſcount's arrival, they had caſt up entrenchments at the ford of Lademburg, erected batteries, and taken all neceſſary precautions to hinder the French from paſſing. While the Viſcount was at Weiblingen, a falſe alarm was given in the night time; he mounted his horſe, went himſelf to the head of the camp, and encouraged the ſoldiers with theſe words, *What, my children, are you afraid where I am?* The next day he made ſome ſquadrons croſs the river, ſent parties to obſerve the enemy's camp, and was informed of their ſtrength and ſituation by ſome troopers who were taken priſoners. The Dukes of Lorrain and Bournonville aſtoniſhed at his boldneſs, retired without oppoſing his paſſage: they firſt ſent away the troops of the Palatinate to poſt themſelves at Manheim, then their baggage and infantry; and having in the beginning of the night made the reſt of their army decamp, they took the great road called

called Berſtras, which leads to Frankfort. As the town of Ladembourg and the defiles hindred the Viſcount from ſeeing their motions, he knew nothing of their retreat till two hours after: he immediately detached the Count de Roye with 1400 horſe and 600 dragoons to purſue them: Roye marched till nine in the morning, and halted near Zuingemberg. Du Repaire, whom he had ſent before with 200 horſe, having paſſed a defile, croſſed a great plain, and perceived behind an eminence which bounded it a guard of 60 of the enemy's troopers, who made off at his approach; Du Repaire puſhed them, got to the top of another riſing ground, and ſaw all the enemy's rear, who had ſtopped in order to bait: at the ſame time he was attacked by 3 or 400 horſe, which obliged him to give ground, but the Count de Roye having ſent a detachment to ſupport him, the Imperial horſe retired as faſt as they had come on: each party had about 12 or 15 killed, and the French took priſoner a Lieutenant. Du Repaire rejoined the Count de Roye, who not thinking it proper to paſs the defile, and engage in an unequal fight ſo far from the army, returned to the Viſcount. The ſeveral parties that had been detached to obſerve the enemy's motions, reported that the Imperial army had in all haſte forded the Main, and that the greateſt part of the infantry not being able to follow, were ſcattered in the woods and on the mountains which were along the road. An. 1674.

July 9th. The cruelty of the inhabitants of the Palatinate, and of the Engliſh in the French army.

The ninth of July, the French army came and encamped at Gros-Saxon a league from Ladembourg, and Marſhal Turenne being maſter of the Palatinate by the retreat of the Imperialiſts, let his troops live there at diſcretion; they conſumed in a month the forrage and harveſt of the country; ſo that it was impoſſible for the enemy to ſubſiſt there. Moſt of the peaſants abandoned their houſes and left the

An. 1674. the country; but to revenge themſelves for the miſeries they ſuffered by war, before their departure they exerciſed all manner of cruelties on thoſe ſoldiers of the French army that they could ſurpriſe; they burnt ſome at a ſlow fire, and hung up others with their heads downwards, and left them to die in that manner: they tore out the heart and entrails of others, put out their eyes, and having maimed them after different ways, they expoſed them in the high roads. The French army ſaw thoſe ſpectacles in ſeveral places in their march. The Engliſh provoked at this inhumanity, gave themſelves up to their reſentment, went like madmen with torches in their hands, and burnt a great many boroughs and villages, and even ſome ſmall towns: their revenge was ſo ſudden, that the officers could not reſtrain them; and had not the threats and orders of Turenne put a ſtop to their fury they would have laid waſte the whole Country: he exemplarily puniſhed thoſe who began the burning, tho' they were the braveſt ſoldiers of his army. He could not condemn them to death without doing great violence to himſelf; but as the maintaining of diſcipline was concerned, he made clemency give place to ſeverity.

The Elector Palatin ſends a challenge to the Viſcount.

Louis Elector Palatine ſecond couſin to the Viſcount being exceedingly enraged at the devaſtation of his territories ſent him a trumpet with the following letter.

The Elector's letter to the Viſcount.

"The burning of my towns and villages, "which a letter from one of your domeſticks as "well as accounts from other hands, give me "ground to believe was done by your orders, is a "thing ſo extraordinary and ſo unworthy of a "perſon of your quality, that I am at loſs to find "out the reaſon of it: every body is the more aſtoniſhed at this manner of acting as you did not "uſe the like even before your converſion, in ſe-"veral campaigns which you made in this coun-"try againſt enemies who were not your relations;

"as

" as for me, tho' I might have expected no leſs An. 1674.
" after the diſorders which the troops under your
" command committed in my territories the laſt
" year, when you marched through them as a
" friend, yet I cannot help being ſurprized at a
" procedure ſo little conformable to the laws of war
" amongſt Chriſtians, and to the aſſurances you
" have ſo often given me of your friendſhip: it
" appears to me that at the worſt people
" do not ſet fire to any place, but ſuch as re-
" fuſe to pay contribution, and you know that you
" never demanded it of thoſe which you have re-
" duced to aſhes. Several of your priſoners have
" aſſured me that you did it to revenge your ſelf on
" my peaſants, who were reported to have maimed
" the dead bodies of your ſoldiers whom they
" found; but as my peaſants were never known to
" have committed ſuch barbarities before, it is
" more probable that they have been done by the
" priſoners which you carried from the Biſhopricks
" of Straſburgh and Spires, who perhaps were glad
" of furniſhing you with this pretence of revenge.
" But granting that it had been my ſubjects, I can-
" not ſee how the inhumanity of ſome private men,
" which I would have ſeverely puniſhed had I
" known the authors of it, could have obliged you
" to ruin ſo many innocent families, and conſume
" even the very churches of your own religion.
" Actions ſo contrary to the improvement you pre-
" tend to have made in the practice of Chriſtianity
" by your converſion, make me believe that they
" proceed from ſome prejudice or ſpite you have
" conceived againſt me; but it would have been eaſy
" for you to have taken ſatisfaction of me by ways
" more uſual amongſt men of honour. I doubt
" not but that while you are making no attempts
" but upon the miſerable, the Moſt Chriſtian
" King will allow you time to right yourſelf
" by

An. 1674. " by a more generous method than that of the
" ruin of my poor ſubjects, and that you will not
" fail to acquaint me by the bearer, of the time, the
" place and the manner in which we ſhall take ſa-
" tisfaction of each other: I do not aſk this of you
" out of a romantick humour, or the vanity
" of perhaps receiving a refuſal, but from a deſire
" of revenge which I owe to my Country, ſee-
" ing I cannot at preſent take it at the head of
" an army equal to yours, and becauſe any other
" vengeance from heaven upon you may not be ſo
" ſudden as that which you may meet with from
" my hand: I promiſe my ſelf in this rencounter,
" that that Country which was formerly an aſylum
" to your deceaſed father, my Great Uncle, in his
" misfortunes, will be the witneſs of your repen-
" tance as it has been of your outrage and cruelty.
" Signed CHARLES LOUIS Elector Palatin.

The Viſcount immediately returned this anſwer by the ſame trumpet.

The Viſcount's anſwer.

" I have received the letter your Electoral High-
" neſs did me the honour to write to me; I
" can aſſure you that the burning of ſome of your
" villages was without my order, and that the ſoldiers
" who found their comrades killed after a very
" ſtrange manner, did it at hours when they could
" not be hindered. When your Electoral Highneſs
" ſhall be ſufficiently informed of the fact, I doubt
" not but you will continue to honour me with a
" ſhare in your favour, ſince I have done nothing
" that can be a reaſon for depriving me of it.

The moderation and prudence of this anſwer brought the Elector into temper: he enquired into the fact, found it ſuch as the Viſcount had repreſented it, and was aſham'd of having been ſo much tranſported by paſſion.

The Viſcount's paternal affection to the ſoldiers.

The army having conſumed the forrage, and all that could be of uſe to the enemy in that part of the Pala-

Palatinate which is on the right of the Rhine, Turenne repaſſed the river at Philipſburgh on the 28th of July, and went to that which is on the left to do the ſame there. He firſt encamped at Lachem, half a league from Neuſtadt, and afterwards near Landau and Weiſſembourg, where he continued above a month. During his ſtay there, a dyſentery got into the army, and on that occaſion the Viſcount ſhewed how far his kindneſs for them extended: the beſt father never was at more pains to have his children cured; he let no day paſs without viſiting the ſick; he ſupported them by his liberalities, ſupplied all their wants, and converſed with them with a noble familiarity. When he wanted money on theſe occaſions, he borrowed of the firſt officer he met, deſiring him to receive payment of his Steward: The Steward ſuſpecting that ſometimes they aſked more than they had lent his maſter, repreſented to him that for the future he ſhould give bills to thoſe of whom he borrowed: "No "no, ſaid the Viſcount, give all they aſk of you; "it is impoſſible an officer ſhould demand a ſum "which he has not lent, unleſs he be in great want, "and in that caſe it is but juſt to aſſiſt him." This conduct filled the ſoldiers with love and reſpect for him: when he was walking at the head of the camp they would come from their poſts to look at him, and would ſay to one another, *Our father is in good health, we have nothing to fear.* An. 1674.

The confederates paſs the Rhine.

In the mean time the Emperor's army which had continued for a month paſt, between Mentz and Frankfort, was encreaſed by the junction of the troops of Zel, Wolfembuttle, Saxony, Heſſe, Munſter, Cologne, Triers, Lunenburgh, and ſome Circles of the Empire. The Duke of Bournonville the leader of the Imperial army had under him Prince Herman de Baden, General of the artillery, and Count Caprara; the Duke of Lorrain commanded

An. 1674. manded his own troops, as did the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Holſtein-Ploem led thoſe of Lunenbourg. Theſe ſix Generals having held a council of war, reſolved to force the bridge of Mentz; they paſſed it on the firſt of September, marched up the Rhine, and encamped between Spires and Philipſburgh, extending themſelves from Duttenhoven to Mechterſheim.

Louvois blames the Viſcount's conduct.

As ſoon as it was known in France that the Imperialiſts had paſſed the Rhine with an army of 35000 men, Louvois could not help blaming the Viſcount's conduct and imprudence, and remonſtrated the neceſſity there was of making the army retire into Lorrain to cover that Province. The King ſent preſſing orders to the General commanding him to quit Alſace; but Turenne ſeeing at one view the conſequence of ſuch a proceeding, repreſented to the King the danger there would be in leaving the banks of the Rhine. "The enemy, "ſaid he in his letter, how numerous ſoever their "troops be, cannot think of any other enterprize "this ſeaſon, but that of making me leave the "Province I am in, they having neither proviſions, "nor the means of paſſing into Lorrain till I be "driven from Alſace: if I go away of my own "accord, as your Majeſty orders me, I ſhall do "what perhaps they would find difficult to make "me do: when a General has a reaſonable num-"ber of troops, he needs never quit a country, "tho' the enemy has a great many more: I am "perſuaded that it would be leſs prejudicial to your "Majeſty's intereſt that I loſt a battle, than that I "abandoned Alſace and repaſſed the mountains; "in this caſe Philipſburgh and Briſac would ſoon "be obliged to ſurrender; the Imperialiſts would "take poſſeſſion of all the country from Mentz to "Bâle, and perhaps immediately carry the war "into Franche-Comté, from thence into Lorrain,

"and

" and come and ravage Champagne: I know the " ſtrength of the Imperial army, the Generals that " command it, and the country I am in; I take " all upon my ſelf, and will anſwer for the event." The King who knew the Viſcount's firmneſs, and how little he was given to be preſuming, truſted entirely to his capacity and experience, ſent him a reinforcement of eight battalions, left him at liberty to do as he pleaſed, and Louvois was obliged to ſubmit to the King's orders. The courſe of the campaign juſtified the Viſcount, and the Miniſter himſelf admired his able management. An. 1674.

The confederates being ſtill encamped in the ſame place, began to make a bridge of boats near the village of Louſſen, two leagues from Philipsburgh, and made as if they deſigned to beſiege that town. As the Elector of Brandenburgh was bringing them a reinforcement of 20000 men, it was not doubted but they would undertake the ſiege after that junction: all neceſſary precautions were taken to defend Philipsburgh; the body of the town was fortified with ſeven faced baſtions, encompaſſed with a large ditch full of water, and ſurrounded on all hands by moraſſes, except two avenues where a counter-guard and two half moons were built: a great horn-work was immediately made towards the Rhine, and nothing was forgot that could contribute to a long defence: the garriſon which ordinarily conſiſted of 1800 men, was encreaſed with four troops of dragoons, and the independent companies of the Commandant and Major: four battalions and two regiments encamped under the canon, of which there were 70 pieces, and there was abundance of proviſions and ammunition in the town. Du Fay commanded the troops within, Villedieu the battalions without, and the Count de Maulevrier gave orders to both as Major General. The Viſcount puts Philipsburgh in a condition of defence.

An. 1674. The French army encreaſed daily by the reinforcements which the King ſent, and amounted to upwards of 20000 men. The Viſcount underſtanding that the enemy's bridge was finiſhed, detached the Baron de Montclar, with 1200 horſe, and 500 dragoons to take a near view of the enemy, made a detachment of 500 foot commanded by Churchill an Engliſh Colonel, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, advance to the defile of Rhinzabern, and ſent to the Count de Maulevrier to fire ſix canon ſhot from Philipſburgh when the enemy paſſed the Rhine, to ſerve as a ſignal for Montclar to charge their rear, and for Churchill to advance to ſuſtain him. He at the ſame time ordered, that if the enemy inſtead of croſſing the river ſhould march towards the French army, only four canon ſhould be fired, to give notice to Montclar and Churchill to return to the camp. This deſign, tho' well concerted, did not ſucceed: the Count de Maulevrier did all he could to know when the enemy paſſed the Rhine; but the ſituation of the two places hindred him from ſeeing the true condition of their bridge, and from knowing the time of their paſſing: their camp was inacceſſible, two rivers covered it on the right, moraſſes and woods on the left, the Rhine behind and defiles before: Montclar went up and down three whole days without being able to diſcover any thing. The Imperialiſts paſſed the Rhine the 21ſt of the month, and the Count de Maulevrier did not know it till a little after; he however gave the ſignal, and Montclar arrived in their camp which he found on fire.

The Imperialiſts paſs the Rhine without daring to advance into Alſace.



The Viſcount ſends in purſuit of them in order to know their deſign.

The Viſcount ſent orders to prepare the bridge of Philipſburgh immediately, and to the Count de Maulevrier to take 600 men of the regiments of du Pleſſis and la Ferté with the Commandant's dragoons, and go and ſeize the bridge and caſtle of Graben two leagues from Philipſburgh in the way

to

to Dourlach: his deſign was to ſtop the enemy there, to cut off their way to Strasburgh, and to make them ſtay in a cloſe country without ſubſiſtence, where he hoped to fight them to advantage. The Count de Maulevrier having marched through a very difficult defile arrived in the beginning of the night near Graben; but he found the enemy already encamped there, and therefore he retired to Philipſburgh. He learned by the way, that the corps poſted at Graben was a detachment of 5000 horſe commanded by Count Caprara, who had orders to advance with all expedition to the bridge of Strasburgh, and there wait for the reſt of the army. Hence it was that the enemy had paſſed the Rhine near Spire, in hopes of repaſſing it at Strasburgh. The Viſcount had foreſeen it, but he thought that that town which had ſo many reaſons to obſerve a neutrality, and which could not allow the enemy to paſs without expoſing her ſelf to the King's reſentments, would not grant the confederates a paſſage which it had never done to any party during the great wars in Germany, and which ſhe had refuſed the Imperialiſts the ſpring before. An. 1674.

The confederate Generals having nevertheleſs made divers attempts to obtain a paſſage; the Count de Hohenloe, who had undertaken that negotiation, not being able to perſuade the magiſtrates, had given money to the people in order to gain them, and had uſed all his efforts to revive the antient hatred of the citizens to France. He had repreſented to them, that ſince the King's conqueſts, Alſace was under oppreſſion, its towns diſmantled and deprived of their privileges; that Strasburgh might expect the ſame treatment if Louis XIV. ſhould become maſter of it; that the greateſt Princes of the Empire were ready to paſs the Rhine with an army of 60,000 men to defend their liberty; that a handful of French concealed in the lower Alſace

The Count de Hohenloe gains the inhabitants of Straſburgh.

An. 1674. could never ſtand before ſuch united forces; that victory was certain, and that it would be followed by the recovery of Franche-Comté and Lorrain. Theſe repeated diſcourſes had produced their effect, the people had mutiny'd, made themſelves maſters of the bridge, and promiſed to grant a paſſage to the confederates.

The Viſcount ſends the Marquis de Vaubrun to keep the inhabitants of Straſburgh neutral.

The Viſcount being informed of Hohenloe's ſolicitations, repreſented to the magiſtrates the misfortunes to which they expoſed themſelves by breaking the neutrality at ſuch a conjuncture; they anſwered, that they would never break their promiſe, but could not be reſponſible for the people. The Viſcount ſeeing that there was nothing to be done by negotiations detached the Marquis de Vaubrun Lieutenant General (whoſe courage and talents in war he knew) with two battalions, 5 or 600 horſe, 500 dragoons, and ſome pieces of canon, to take poſſeſſion of the fort at the end of the bridge on this ſide of the Rhine, and to aſſure the inhabitants of the town at the ſame time, that he had no other deſign but to preſerve the neutrality, and that he would pay even the leaſt damage his troops ſhould do.

The Viſcount marches towards Straſburgh.

Strasburgh is ſituated near the Rhine on the river Ill, which runs almoſt parallel to the Rhine, falls into it at Wantzenau, a league and a half below Strasburgh, and forms a great iſle called Rubertzaw, where there is a bridge whoſe head is defended by a fort. The Marquis de Vaubrun having made his troops paſs over into the iſle by ſeveral fords of the river Ill, viewed the fort, and acquainted the Viſcount that he might go thither without being incommoded by the town. Turenne ſet out himſelf to go

Sept. 24 and join Vaubrun, left in the camp at Winden the main body of his army under the command of the Count de Lorge and Foucault Lieutenant Generals, with orders to follow him the next day, and took with him only 1200 foot. He arrived in the Marquis

quis de Vaubrun's camp on the 25th of September at ſeven in the morning, and found that inſtead of taking the fort, he had ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by the inhabitants of Straſburgh who had deceived him. Vaubrun propoſed to attack the fort, but it was now too late; the Viſcount was informed that the town was already full of Imperialiſts, and that Count Merci, ſon to the great General of that name, having taken poſſeſſion of the fort with a body of dragoons, the Imperialiſts were intirely maſters of the place. The Viſcount made his troops repaſs the Ill towards the evening, and going down the river croſſed the Suvel, continued in order of battle on the other ſide till morning, viewed the ground and the avenues, marked out a camp for his army, covered his left by the Ill, ſtretch'd his right to a great moraſs, had his front at the river Suvel and the village of Wantzenau behind him: in this poſt he waited for the reſt of his troops which were coming from Wenden. An. 1674.

The Imperialiſts had paſſed the Rhine near Spire on the 21ſt, and Caprara's detachment having arrived the 24th at the bridge of Straſburgh, Merci's dragoons had thrown themſelves into the fort. The reſt of their army joined them the 25th, paſſed the Rhine the next day, turned to the left, croſſed the Bruſch, marched up that river, and extended themſelves from the villages of Geiſpitzen and S. Blaiſe along the river Ill to Gravertſtaden. By this diſpoſition of their camp the Imperialiſts became maſters of the country from the Rhine to the mountains of Saverne, and by conſequence of all the Upper Alſace, where they found proviſions in abundance to ſupport a very powerful army a long time, and from whence they might eaſily make an irruption into France. They had already near 40,000 men, and expected in 15 days the Elector of Brandenburgh with a reinforcement of 20,000: never was there a more ad- The Imperialiſts repaſs the Rhine and enter Alſace.

An. 1674. vantageous ſituation; that of the Viſcount was very different; hisarmy conſiſted at moſt but of 22,000 men; he was in the lower Alſace, a country not very fertile in itſelf, and conſumed by the ſtay which his troops had made there for two months: with ſuch unequal forces he was obliged to cover Saverne and Haguenau, places no leſs weak than important. After the junction of the Electoral and Imperial troops, he could not continue in Alſace: a retreat was nevertheleſs dangerous, and the conſequences fatal; it would occaſion the loſs of Briſac and Philipsburgh, and tarniſh the glory of the French arms; the King's allies in Germany might be overpowered, Lorrain and Franche-Comté retaken, and Champagne pillaged. In this extremity the Viſcount could find no other expedient but to march ſtrait to the enemy, and fight them before the Elector of Brandenburgh ſhould join them. He knew very well the advantages which their number and ſituation gave them; he knew likewiſe what a warlike army could do that was full of Officers accuſtomed to dangers, and conducted by a General beloved by his ſoldiers.

The Viſcount marches towards the enemy.

Turenne then formed a deſign to attack the Imperialiſts, and only defer'd the execution till his troops ſhould have a little reſpite: they reſted three days in their camp at Wuntzenau; in the beginning of the night he ordered the King's, the Queen's and Liſtenay's dragoons to march before, and make bridges where it was neceſſary; he himſelf decamped at midnight, and paſſed the river Suvel at Lampertheim: his army advanced in three columns, the cavalry kept Strasburgh on the left, the artillery and baggage marched on the right, and the infantry between them. He took the road to Achenem, where the enemy had luckily neglected to guard the bridges: during the march there fell abundance of rain, which ſoaking into the fat and tilled land,

land, made the roads very bad. Nevertheleſs he arrived at four in the afternoon on the high grounds of Achenem; he ſpent the reſt of the day in viewing the country, advanced himſelf with ſome cavalry, paſſed the Bruſche, and diſcovered the enemy's camp in a plain ſhut up on the right by a great wood towards Strasburgh, and on the left by a ſmall wood of 100 paces in length, and 4 or 500 in breadth, and near their center was the village of Enſheim: as he had not a moment to loſe he made his army file off the whole night, and as the ſoldiers paſſed he drew them up in order of battle in the plain at the left of the village of Holſheim, as near the river as he could, and all that time he was on horſeback. An. 1674.

He draws up his army in battalia.

On the 4th of October by break of day the French army was in order of battle in two lines: ſeventeen ſquadrons of the brigade of Piloi formed the right of the firſt, together with the King's and Liſtenay's dragoons under the Marquis de Vaubrun Lieutenant General, and the Count de Roye Major General: the brigade of Humieres conſiſting of the like number of ſquadrons, and the Queen's dragoons compoſed the left, commanded by the Count de Lorge Lieutenant General, and the Count d'Auvergne Major General. Foucault the oldeſt Lieutenant General headed the ten battalions in the center of the firſt line, and had under him two brigadiers, the Marquis of Douglas on the right, and the Count de Pierre-fite on the left; Mont-Georges poſted between the two lines ſupported the infantry of the firſt with five ſquadrons. The center of the ſecond compoſed of eight battalions, four of Reveillon's, and four of Pizieux's, had on the right wing 14 ſquadrons of the brigade of Renty, and on the left a like number of that of Lambert. The Viſcount intermixed all thoſe ſquadrons with ſeveral platoons of grenadiers as at the battle of Sintzheim:

An. 1674. three battalions and four ſquadrons made the corps-de-reſerve: the whole army amounted to 22,000 men and had thirty pieces of canon under S. Hilaire Lieutenant General of the artillery. Turenne had for Aid-de-camps my Lord Duras, the Chevalier de Bouillon, and the Marquiſſes d'Harcourt, Ruvigny and S. Poin: he poſted himſelf in no particular place, intending to go wherever his preſence ſhould be neceſſary; he rode along the front of his firſt line and ſhewed himſelf to his troops with an air of gaiety which he commonly had on a day of battle. As ſoon as the Engliſh ſaw him they gave a ſhout of joy, which he looked upon as a good omen.

The order in which the Imperialiſts drew up their army.

The Duke of Bournonville having been informed the day before of the Viſcount's arrival, had drawn his quarters together near that of Enſheim, which was the head quarter, and put his army, conſiſting of 35,000 men and fifty pieces of canon, in order of battle behind the village. He drew up his troops in two very deep and long lines with a corps-de-reſerve of ſo many battalions that it might be reckoned a third line. He gave the command of the right wing to Count Caprara and the left to the Duke of Holſtein-Ploen. He placed himſelf at the head of the main body: the Duke of Lorrain, the Prince of Baden, and ſeveral Princes of Germany, to the number of two and twenty, commanded their own troops; but in ſubordination to the Lieutenant Generals of the wings where their corps were placed. The order of battle being thus regulated the Duke of Bournonville ſeized a ſmall wood which was before his left. He ſent ſome canon thither and into the village together with ſome infantry who entrenched themſelves there. His right was ſhut up by a great wood towards Straſburgh and with vineyards enclоſed by a long hedge which went along the head of that wing. His center was covered by the village of Enſheim ſurrounded with hedges, ditches and entrenchments;

trenchments; his left wing was ſheltered by a ditch on the brink of which was a hedge and by a ſmall wood which was oppoſite to the middle of that wing. He had moreover on his right and left *rideaus* and hollow ways which ſo concealed his infantry that they could hardly be ſeen. In this ſituation the Imperialiſts waited for the French. An. 1674.

The beginning of the battle of Enſheim and the attack of the wood.

The Viſcount marched his army towards that of the enemy, and as he could not charge them without being maſter of the little wood, he ordered it to be attacked by the King's and Liſtenay's dragoons, who diſmounted and were headed by the Marquis de Boufflers, afterwards Marſhal of France. The Imperialiſts were poſted there under cover of ſome *rideaus* and earth which they had turned up: they had three battalions there and two pieces of canon charged with cartridge ſhot. Turenne ordered ſome field pieces to advance; both parties canonaded each other for ſome time, and then the muſketeers began their fire. The Duke of Bournonville continually detached freſh troops to maintain the poſt, and the Viſcount was obliged to ſend to the aſſiſtance of the dragoons 500 grenadiers of the platoons which were placed between the ſquadrons; with this reinforcement Boufflers renewed his attack, marched up to the entrenchments, charged the enemy ſword in hand, made himſelf maſter of their artillery, and puſhed them to the ſecond entrenchment behind which they had placed ſix other pieces of canon. The French ſtood the fire of them for three hours without being able to gain ground. The Viſcount ſeeing it impoſſible to force ſuch a poſt without a great body of infantry, ſent thither the battalions of Burgundy and Orleans from the corps-de-reſerve; thoſe of Languedoc, Churchill and Monmouth, from the ſecond line, and the battle began afreſh. A violent rain ſuſpended for ſome time the fury of the attack, but that reſpite only ſerved to redouble the ardour

of

An. 1674. of the ſoldiers. The ſlaughter grew terrible and they fought upon a heap of dead bodies. At length the French forced the ſecond entrenchment, took the other ſix pieces of canon, drove the enemy from the wood and ſtill gained ground.

The continuation of the battle.

The Imperialiſts not daunted with being twice repulſed, and looking upon the poſt of the wood as of the utmoſt importance, detached ſeven battalions of the infantry of Lunenburgh to endeavour to regain their canon and enter the wood. Then the Viſcount cauſed all the battalions of the ſecond line which had not yet charged, to advance; there began for the third time one of the moſt bloody battles between the infantry that had been ſeen of a long time. The victory was doubtful for ſome hours; all the officers acted there according to their own judgments, determining themſelves by the occurrences. The unevenneſs of the field of Battle and the fury of the combatants hindered them from giving or receiving orders in the uſual forms: the action was attended with many ſingular circumſtances: the rain which ſtill continued and the danger of attacking the Germans under their canon made it equally difficult and hazardous. As the Imperialiſts fought at the head of their line their cavalry ſupported them by eaſy and regular motions, while the Viſcount's battalions, being at a diſtance from his right, were not ſuſtained at all. He made all the ſquadrons of the ſecond line of his right advance in the room of thoſe of the firſt, and cauſed the firſt to march towards the enemy, and extend itſelf along the wood which it left behind it. The Viſcount inceſſantly viſited all the poſts, ſupported thoſe that were the moſt preſſed, and thought it his duty to expoſe himſelf as much as the meaneſt ſoldier in a new attack wherein he was to make his laſt effort. Several of his people were killed by his ſide, his horſe was wounded under him and the Marquis d'Harcourt gave him his. Turenne's

renne's example made the ſoldiers exert themſelves ſo bravely that they repulſed the enemy, whoſe obſtinacy carried them to return to the charge a fourth time; but the Viſcount having pointed their own canon againſt them, again repulſed them and forced them to take refuge behind the entrenchments of Enſheim after the defeat of almoſt their whole infantry which they had made advance. An. 1674.

Whilſt a good part of both armies was thus employed in attacking and defending the wood, the reſt of the troops only canonaded and obſerved each other: all the firſt line of the French continued in an extended front, as above deſcribed; but there were in the ſecond only the ſquadrons of the left. The Duke of Bournonville ſeeing the King's army thus left open, abandoned his poſt in the wood, left the care of it to the Duke of Holſtein-Ploen, and ſent Caprara with a great body of cavalry, through a concealed way behind the two lines of the French left wing, to fall upon their infantry in the rear, while he himſelf advanced with ſeveral choſen ſquadrons to attack them in front. Lieutenant General Foucault, who was at the head of the infantry of the firſt line, ſeeing the Duke of Bournonville coming on one ſide, and Caprara on the other, immediately made the neceſſary evolutions for facing both ways, and waited for the Duke of Bournonville without ſtirring, ordering his battalions not to fire: the German General aſtoniſhed at this conduct, durſt not hazard himſelf and went back again; but Caprara being more bold, fell upon the left wing, broke ſeveral ſquadrons of the ſecond line, puſhed Mont-Georges who deſigned to make a ſtand with the ſquadrons of the corps-de-reſerve and got behind the French infantry: the Counts de Lorge and d'Auvergne immediately rallied all the ſquadrons of the ſecond line and of the reſerve, attacked Caprara, obliged him to return in all haſte from whence The end of the battle.

An. 1674. whence he came, and the French became maſters of the plain as they were already of the wood. The little that remained of the day was ſpent in canonading one another; the night, which came on the ſooner, and was the darker by reaſon of the inceſſant rain, put an end to the battle.

The enemy's retreat and the number of the dead and wounded.

The French had been upon the march for near forty hours before the action; it had laſted from morning till night in a deep ſoil in a cloſe wood during a continual rain; the Viſcount ſaw that if he made his troops paſs the night in the field of battle without eating, they would not be in a condition to fight next day: he therefore repaſſed the Bruſch to get at his proviſions and baggage and refreſh his army after the fatigue of the march and the battle. He had advantage enough to claim the honour of the day; above 3000 of the enemy were killed on the ſpot, he had taken from them eight pieces of canon, ſeveral ſtandards, kettle drums, colours and priſoners; he remained maſter of the wood, their foremoſt entrenchments on his right and all the plain on his left. He repaſſed the river at Holtzeim and went and encamped at Achenem a ſhort league from the field of battle, on which he left Bulonde a Brigadier with ſix regiments of cavalry and one of dragoons. While his troops were reſting themſelves, the enemy abandoned their camp with precipitation, and left in it two pieces of canon, a good deal of proviſions and a great number of wounded. The French were informed by ſome priſoners, that long before the end of the battle the Duke of Bournonville had made his baggage take the way to Straſburgh, and that the confederates, having retired in great confuſion in the night time, had yielded to the Viſcount all the advantages that the bad weather and the fatigue of his troops had hindered him from gaining during the day. The battle had been bloody on both ſides: the French loſt near 2000 ſoldiers and a great many

many officers; the Count d'Auvergne, the Marquiſſes de Pizieux and Reveillon, the Count d'Hamilton and a great number of ſubalterns were very much wounded. Beſides the 3000 men which the enemy left dead on the ſpot, they loſt a great many wounded ſoldiers and officers who died the day after the action. Their loſs was ſo conſiderable; that not being in a condition to keep the field till the arrival of the Elector of Brandenburgh, they retired under the canon of Straſburgh where they were cover'd by the river Ill. An. 1674.

The Viſcount ſtaid two days between Achenem and Bruſchwirkerſem, a league and a half from the enemy, who might have eaſily marched up to him. On the ſeventh of October he went two leagues further to the town of Marlen on the ſmall river Mozig which deſcends from the mountains of Saverne: the army encamped there having its right covered by the river, and its left extended along ſome riſing grounds which were at the back of the camp; he choſe that poſt as the moſt commodious to wait for the confederates whom the junction of the troops of Brandenburgh would render three times as ſtrong as he. Had he continued in his firſt camp, the enemy, after their junction, would have attacked Saverne and Haguenau, or marched up to him and he would not have been able to have kept the field; but by the ſituation of his new camp, he covered thoſe two places from whence he was ſupplied with proviſions, had his army in a ſafe place, and preſerved behind him the forrage which might be afterwards neceſſary to him: there was behind his right in the way to Saverne a very narrow defile, a quarter of a league long, and reaching to the caſtle of Vaſſelone which belonged to the inhabitants of Straſburgh and which was guarded by fifty men: the Viſcount engaged the Commander to let him throw into it as many troops as were neceſſary for the defending the poſt, and thus ſecured a communication with Saverne,

The Viſcount ſecures the paſſages and defiles and encamps at Marlen. 7 October.

An. 1674. put himſelf in a condition to ſuccour Haguenau, or retire with ſafety if the enemy ſhould oblige him to it.

The Elector of Brandenburgh joins his troops to thoſe of the Imperialiſts.

The Imperialiſts were ſtill encamped at Straſburgh waiting for the Elector of Brandenburgh, whoſe march, ſlow in itſelf, was alſo retarded by the difficulty which ſeveral Princes of Germany made to grant him a paſſage thro' their territories: he deſired only to come into Alſace time enough to take up his winter quarters there, thought of nothing but ſparing his troops by making eaſy marches, and carried along with him a great equipage according to the cuſtom of the Germans. The Electreſs and ſeveral other Princeſſes accompany'd him, and ſaid every where that they were going to make acquaintance with the French Ladies in order to to learn the manners of that polite Nation. This great re-inforcement, which amounted to 20,000 men, croſſed the Rhine at the bridge of Straſburgh
14 October. on the fourteenth of October; it conſiſted of the Elector's troops, the recruits of the Duke of Lunenburgh, which that Prince commanded in perſon, and the militia of Suabia and Franconia: moreover the Elector Palatine who had returned to his dominions when the confederates firſt paſſed the Rhine at Straſburgh, joined the troops of Brandenburgh in their way, with 2000 men which he himſelf commanded; thus the Imperial army amounted to near 60,000 fighting men. While all theſe troops were croſſing the Rhine, the Duke of Bournonville made his men paſs the Ill, and went and poſted himſelf near the place where the battle of Enſheim was fought. The next day the Elector of Brandenburgh and the Elector Palatine joined him; they hoped to drive the French out of Alſace, to enter Lorrain and penetrate as far as Paris. The alarm reached the Court; the King ordered the ariere-ban and ſeveral regiments which ſerved in Flanders to march towards the Rhine. The German Generals having held

held a counſel of war wherein it was reſolved to march towards the Viſcount, the Duke of Bournonville advanced on the high grounds of Achenem with ſixteen ſquadrons, kept in ſight there almoſt a whole day, and made ſeveral motions as if he had a mind to take an exact view of the French camp. Turenne was not at all deceived, and judging of the enemy's deſigns rather by what they ought to do than what they ſeemed to deſign, thought that this ſtep of theirs was only a feint, and that while they pretended to attack him their true deſign was to conceal their march from him and fall upon Haguenau; to prevent them, he ſent the Count de Roye to the left of his army with orders to detach ſeveral parties as far as to the Rhine and throw 800 men into Haguenau. None of the parties hearing any news of the Imperialiſts, the Viſcount began to think that their intention was really to come and attack him on the right, and to guard againſt that inconvenience, he cauſed *redans* to be made acroſs a plain which riſes gradually on the other ſide of a brook; he there lodged ſome infantry and thus covered his right and the defile which went through the mountain; he diſlodged the garriſon of Straſburgh from the caſtle of Vaſſelone and made himſelf maſter of it; he ſet the men to work at other entrenchments at the head of his camp, and all the army believed that he intended to wait the enemy there. As he was viſiting the works, he obſerved an old foot ſoldier reſting himſelf; the Viſcount came up to him, took him aſide and aſked him why he did not work: the ſoldier anſwered him ſmiling, *It is, General, becauſe, you will not ſtay long here.* Turenne by that ſaw his penetration, gave him money, deſired him to keep the ſecret, and ſoon after made him a Lieutenant. The Imperialiſts had three things in their option, either to offer battle to the Viſcount, or cut off his communication with Saverne, or lay ſiege to Haguenau, the taking of which would

An. 1674.

An. 1674. would certainly have occaſioned that of Philipſburgh: they ſtill continued in their camp without making any motion; whether it was that ſo many Generals could not agree upon what was proper to be undertaken, or that they hoped that the Viſcount finding himſelf too weak would retire of his own accord, and leave the country open to them.

The Imperialiſts to the number of 60,000 men march towards the Viſcount.

They continued in this uncertainty till the 18th of October, then they begun their march towards the French camp; Turenne was immediately informed of it by the Marquis de Vaubrun and the Count de Roye; he mounted his horſe, and being come to the top of an eminence on the left of his camp, ſaw all the enemy's army advancing, and reſolved to retire that night to Dettweiler, from whence he might cover Saverne, and ſuccour Haguenau. After the ſun was ſet he made his baggage and covered waggons march through the defile of Vaſſelone, the artillery he ſent by another defile on the left towards the extremity of the hill; and when all the train was gone the army followed it at midnight in two columns through the ſame defiles: The Count de Lorge led the van, Lieutenant General Foucault and the Count de Roye were in the rear: by break of day the army had paſt the firſt of the three defiles which are between Marlen and Dettweiler; ſcarce had it entered the ſecond when the enemy appeared about eleven in the morning oppoſite to Cochersberg, and to diſturb the march they detached 2000 horſe, who charged the hindmoſt troops of the Viſcount's rear-guard, juſt as they had entered the third defile. The French dragoons alighted, poſted themſelves behind the hedges, kept off the enemy by their firing, and gave the army time to paſs without loſs. The number of the Imperialiſts ſtill encreaſed, they followed the Viſcount to the riſing grounds near Dettweiler; but 6000 horſe of the ariere-ban under the Marſhal de Crequi appeared on the eminences of Vaſſelone, and the antient reputation of that corps frighten'd the enemy

enemy ſo, that they durſt not attack the French army, which continuing its march boldly and in good order, arrived in the new camp about ten at night. All the ſoldiers rejoiced that without any diſadvantage they had made a retreat of almoſt four leagues in the preſence of an army near three times ſtronger than theirs. An. 1674.

The Viſcount who had of a long time foreſeen the great ſtrength that the Imperialiſts would gather, had choſen this poſt as an aſylum capable to afford ſhelter to an army ſo much inferior to the enemy's as his was. He had before him the river Soor, his right at Dettweiler and his left towards Hochfelt, both his wings being covered by two brooks that run into the Soor. The army continued all night in order of battle, and on the morrow, which was the 20th, as ſoon as it was day, viewed the avenues, poſted the guards, and encamped. The Viſcount detached a corps to Steinbrouch half way to Saverne, with orders to throw themſelves into this laſt place upon the leaſt alarm, reſolving to march thither himſelf with the whole army, in caſe the enemy ſhould advance ſo far. In order to execute this deſign with the greater expedition and ſecurity, he cauſed bridges to be laid over the brook which covered his right, and ſpoilt all the fords of the Soor as far as Saverne. The other ſide was of more importance and difficult to be defended; the left wing of the French army was two leagues from Brumpt; the right wing of the Imperialiſts was but half a league from it, and their left extended towards the riſing grounds of Cochersberg: if they had immediately ſeized that paſs, they might have come up to the French army, or have poſted themſelves between it and Haguenau: whether it was that they did not know thoſe advantages, or that they wanted reſolution, or laſtly that they thought the Viſcount would be obliged to retire for want of forrage, they

The Viſcount fortifies himſelf in his camp at Dettweiler.

An. 1674. did not attempt that paſs and gave him time to take all his precautions. He cauſed all the fords of the Soor on that ſide to be ſpoilt, and all the bridges to be broke down as far as beyond Brumpt; he planted a guard of dragoons in that town, in which they might ſee from the ſteeple of the church the leaſt motion that the enemy could make towards the river: he threw another detachment of dragoons into the caſtle of Hochfelt, and joined thoſe two poſts by guards of cavalry, who were to give him notice of all that paſſed. There were likewiſe guards placed in the ſame manner from Hochfelt to the camp, and ſcouts were ſent out every night through all that extent of ground to get intelligence: if the confederates had attempted to paſs the Soor, the Viſcount deſigned to fight them in their paſſage, and to hazard all to hinder them from going to Haguenau.

The Viſcount's generoſity.

While the Viſcount was in his camp at Dettweiler, he met a poor Gentleman of the ariere-ban who was very ill mounted, but who appeared extreamly zealous for the ſervice. He propoſed to him to change horſes, and made him accept of one of a great price in exchange for one of little value, which he ſaid pleaſed him better, becauſe he was more gentle. In the midſt of the cares and toils of war he let no opportunity eſcape him of thus exerting his generoſity, and at the ſame time concealing it. From the ſame camp at Dettweiler he ſent his nephew the Duke of Elbeuf to make his compliments to Charles the IVth, Duke of Lorrain, who was in the enemy's camp. Charles could not help ſaying to the young Prince, who was then but 14 years of age: "My young couſin, you are too "happy to ſee and hear the Viſcount de Turenne "every day: you have no other Father but him, "kiſs the ground whereon he treads, and be killed "at his feet *." The Imperialiſts and the French

* Madame de Sevigné's letters.

continued

continued in the ſame ſituation till the 30th of October, the formidable German army not daring to undertake any thing, but the ſeizing of Vaſſelone, where the Viſcount had placed a Captain and 150 ſoldiers. The Elector of Brandenburgh battered that caſtle with ten great canon from two batteries, notwithſtanding which the beſieged held out a day and a half. The Elector thought at firſt to make the garriſon priſoners of war, but the Chevalier de Ronſiere who commanded them having refuſed to ſurrender, they marched out after an honourable capitulation and returned to the army, where every body very much praiſed their defence. An. 1674.

Aſſiſtance is ſent to the Viſcount from Flanders.

The ſame day the Marquis de Genlis arrived in the camp with 15 ſquadrons, which the Viſcount poſted at Vilſen on the Soor between his camp and Hochfelt. The Marquis de * Montauban brought twenty others with him three days after, and eight battalions. The Count de Saulx was coming likewiſe with 24 ſquadrons and 10 battalions. La Feuillée, Sourdis and the Gendarmes put themſelves alſo in a condition to join him, if occaſion required; but the Viſcount made them ſtay in German Lorrain till he ſhould think proper to make uſe of them. All thoſe troops came from Flanders, where the campaign ended very early, becauſe the confederates being defeated at the battle of Seneffe, and afterwards repulſed before Oudenarde by the Prince of Condé, had been obliged, to avoid the total deſtruction of their army, to go into winter quarters in the middle of October.

The Imperialiſts retire, and encamp firſt at Achenem then at S. Blaiſe.

The Imperialiſts who had not dared to paſs the Soor before the Viſcount received a reinforcement, thought him too ſtrong for them to venture upon any enterprize after the arrival of ſo many troops; and it being difficult for them to ſubſiſt in a camp where the country round about was already ruined, they

* Of the family of la Tour du Pin in Dauphiné,

An. 1674. returned towards Straſburgh, and encamped at Achenem. The diſtance they were at gave the French army ſome reſt: but it was in great want of forrage; and tho' it was a little relieved by the convoys of oats, yet the cavalry decreaſed very much, the horſes died daily, being waſted with hunger and cold: nevertheleſs it was neceſſary to ſtay there in order to cover Saverne and Haguenau. The convoys of all neceſſaries for the army came from Lorrain by little Pierre, which the Germans call Lutzelſteim, the inheritance and place of reſidence of a Prince of the Elector Palatin's family. The Viſcount fearing leſt the Elector Palatin's perſuaſions ſhould prevail with that Prince to break the neutrality which he had till then obſerved, ſent to him Sezan a Major General in the army. Sezan having made uſe of perſuaſion and menaces ſucceeded in his negotiation, and the Prince agreed to receive 200 men into the town, provided none were put in the caſtle. The Viſcount by making himſelf maſter of this poſt, ſecured to himſelf all the commodities and advantages that an army can draw from a country behind it, when that before it is ruined or poſſeſſed by the enemy.

The Viſcount retires to Ingweiler. The Imperialiſts having learnt that the Viſcount had received another reinforcement of ſome battalions of the French guards with the regiment of Rambure, and that he had made bridges over the brook as if he had a mind to march towards them, repaſſed the Bruſch, poſted themſelves in the place they were in before the battle of Enſheim, and took Novemb. 20. up their head quarters at Geiſpitzen and S. Blaiſe. Turenne then diſtributed his cavalry in the villages two leagues from his camp behind the river Moter, ſo as that he could get them together in a few hours. Seeing that the enemy was at a diſtance, and Saverne in a very good condition by the works he had made and the garriſon he had left there, he

cauſed his infantry to decamp from Dettweiler, and diſtributed them likewiſe into quarters beyond the Moter from the mountain to Haguenau, and took up his head quarters at Ingweiler. Before he marched he cauſed the caſtle of Hochfelt to be razed, leſt the enemy ſhould poſt themſelves there, to hinder the communication between Saverne and Haguenau. The next day he viewed the river Moter as far as the Abbey of Newburg, broke down all the bridges to ſecure his quarters, and at the ſame time put into Haguenau all the forrage that could be got together in order to deprive the enemy of the means of ſubſiſting there when he ſhould be at a diſtance. An. 1674. Nov. 21ſt.

Tho' the confederates were ſeparated from him by ſeveral rivers, they nevertheleſs thought proper to entrench themſelves; they had raiſed in the plain between Enſheim and Geiſpitzen a great number of *redans* which covered the head of their camp; when they were informed that the Viſcount had put his troops into quarters, they extended themſelves in the upper Alſace, hoped to live there in the midſt of plenty, and flattered themſelves that they ſhould enter Lorrain and Franche-Comté in the ſpring. This laſt Province expected them as her deliverers, and the people there were ſecretly preparing bread and all other neceſſaries for their ſubſiſtence: the Lorrainers being great lovers of their Duke, waited only for his preſence to declare themſelves in his favour. The ſeaſon being very far advanced, the confederates not imagining that the Viſcount had thoughts of coming to diſturb them in their quarters, divided amongſt them all the fine country between the Rhine and the mountains of Alſace from Strasburg to Befort, and began to treat about contributions. The Elector of Brandenburgh having eſtabliſhed his Court at Colmar made the Electreſs come there, who had till then ſtayed at Strasburgh.

An. 1674. The Viſcount being reſolved to hazard all in order to diſlodge the Imperialiſts, and make them repaſs the Rhine, left in Saverne and Haguenau what troops were neceſſary for the defence of thoſe two places, and on the 29th of November began to make his army file off: he himſelf marched with the rear to little Pierre, encreaſed its garriſon in order to preſerve a paſſage for himſelf into Alſace, and having croſſed the mountains, continued his rout to Lixheim, where he found ſome quarters belonging to the troops commanded by the Count de Saulx: he continued there till the 4th of December, and then marched to Lorkheim to make another ſtay there. As the deep deſigns of this General were not known, ſcarce had the news of his march into Lorrain reached the Court of France, when people began to criticize his conduct. Even ſome Officers of his own army, who could not penetrate into his intentions, wrote to Paris that they were aſtoniſhed at his procedure. They could not forgive his retiring into Lorrain after having given hopes that he would ſave Alſace, nor conceive what had induced him to refuſe the Count de Saulx's troops. The Miniſter omitted nothing to make the King ſenſible of the General's ſeeming ill conduct. It muſt however be confeſſed that the publick did the Viſcount juſtice, tho' all appearances were againſt him; they were perſuaded that he had his reaſons for what he did; and if they murmured at his retreat, it was not ſo much a blaming of his conduct, as a complaining of fortune which had not ſeconded his prudence and valour.

The Viſcount makes his troops file off towards Lorrain.

Novemb. 29.

Decemb. 4.

The Viſcount prevails upon the Prince of Montbeliard to continue neuter.

The Imperialiſts ſeeing that he had retired, went into quarters in different places in Alſace, and ſettled in Scheleſtat, Tuckeim, Colmar, Enſiſheim and ſeveral other towns. Being perſuaded that the Viſcount had no more thoughts of diſturbing them, they blocked up Briſac on both ſides of the Rhine, and ſent

ſent to ſummon the Prince of Montbeliard a deſcendant of the family of Wirtemberg to declare for them: but the Viſcount ſent to him the Duke of Duras Governor of Franche-Comté, who prevailed upon that Prince more by perſuaſion than threats to continue neuter. An. 1674.

In the month of December, the Viſcount ſeeing that the enemy had done all that he had foreſeen they would, and that it was time to begin to put in execution the great project he had laid two months before, took the Count de Saulx's 14,000 men, and the troops he himſelf had brought with him from Alſace, divided them into ſeveral detachments and ſmall parties, put old Officers at the head of each, made them march the 5th of December by different routs over the mountains of Vauge, and appointed them all the ſame place of rendezvous, without acquainting any of them where the others had orders to go; the place of rendezvous was near Befort at the other end of Alſace: he marked out their routs and lodgments in ſuch a manner, as that they could get together in leſs than four and twenty hours. He himſelf marched with a body of troops by Blamont, Baccarat, Dontail, Padoulx, Loyes and Longuet, where he reſted ten days. He then went to Remiremont, ſeized it, drove from thence 400 Lorrainers who had taken poſſeſſion of it, and continuing his rout by Faucogney and Melizay, he arrived on the 27th at Befort, where he got all his troops together, after a three weeks march over mountains covered with ſnow, through overflowing torrents, and almoſt impaſſable ways. As ſoon as the enemy had intelligence of Turenne's conduct, they took the alarm, abandoned their quarters that were moſt advanced, and retired to the places about Altkirk, towards the ſource of the river Ill; on the 28th the Viſcount continued his march two leagues beyond Befort to Grun, where

He aſſembles his troops at Befort.

Decemb. 5th.

An. 1674. he made the gendarmes lodge near his own quarters, together with the brigades of Lucinge, Sourdis and Cateux, and ordered them to be in readineſs the next day on the road to Mulhauſen to endeavour to ſurprize ſome of the enemy's quarters.

The engagement at Mulhauſen. Decemb. 29. On the 29th, by break of day, he learnt from ſome priſoners, that the troops of Munſter were marching to the general rendezvous of the Imperialiſts; he followed them in all haſte, and came up with them near Mulhauſen; he made the firſt ſquadron of Orleans and that of Sourdis advance and charge them, under the command of the Marquis de Montauban Major-General for the day, who attacked them, and the engagement was ſharp on both ſides. The Viſcount poſted the gendarmes on an eminence which ſtretched itſelf along a neighbouring brook; thoſe great ſquadrons coming down the hill in a wide front, the enemy thought that they were the head of a ſecond column, and that the whole army was behind. The ford being luckily broad enough, the Marquis de la Trouſſe croſſed it with all expedition at the head of his gendarmes, in order to ſuſtain thoſe who had already paſſed; la Trouſſe arriving when two ſquadrons of the Duke of Lorrain's light horſe were charging with advantage a ſquadron of the gendarmes of Burgundy, put himſelf at the head of the Dauphin's gendarmes, marched up to the Lorrainers ſword in hand, and made them give ground, but perceiving ſome more of the enemy's ſquadrons coming behind the hedges to take him in the flank, he ſtopped and faced about to that ſide with the ſquadrons that he found neareſt him. The Count de Lorges, who till then had ſtaid with the Viſcount, paſſed at the ford, and led a ſquadron directly to the enemy with drums beating and trumpets ſounding; but the Imperialiſts fled in ſuch diſorder, that inſtead of rejoining their main body, they went to Bâle and croſs'd

croſs'd the Rhine. The Count de Lorges followed them for ſome time, went to the top of a hill to view the ground, and diſcovered another body of Imperialiſts in the bottom at the foot of the hill, on which he poſted two ſquadrons, and went and acquainted the Viſcount. The troops that had been thus attacked were 5 or 6000 horſe of the Emperor's, Lorrain and Munſter, with ſome infantry who were going to Enſiſheim to join the Duke of Bournonville and the Elector of Brandenburgh, upon hearing of the Viſcount's march: when thoſe troops diſcovered the firſt ſquadrons of the French, they thought they had only been a party; but having afterwards ſeen the gendarmes, and knowing that the Viſcount was there in perſon, they had maintained the fight only to give time to their infantry and baggage to enter the defiles which reach from the plain to Enſiſheim. Turenne having no infantry, becauſe the reſt of his army was above two leagues off, and ſeeing that night was coming on, did not think it proper to go in purſuit of them: the French had taken priſoners the Commander of the troops of Munſter, Caprara's and Denewald's Majors, 18 other officers, and near 300 troopers; they had likewiſe carried off 18 ſtandards and two pair of kettle drums, and had loſt only one Captain and 60 troopers; but the Count de Broglio, the Marquis de Beaumont, and ſeveral other officers were wounded. The Action was very briſk, turned entirely to the advantage of the French, inſpired their troops with confidence, and diminiſhed that of the enemy, who ſaw themſelves attacked in the middle of their quarters, and forced to get together in great haſte at the end of December and keep themſelves upon the defenſive inſtead of paſſing the reſt of the winter in quiet. The Duke of Bournonville retired in the night time to S. Croix near Colmar, in order to join the Elector of Brandenbourgh there. An. 1674.

The

An. 1674. The Viſcount having returned in the evening to his quarters at Grun there to wait for the reſt of his army, ſent next day towards Bâle a ſtrong party which brought away a good many priſoners: he afterwards took a detachment of the enemy's Croatians who were marching without miſtruſting any thing near his quarters; and laſtly he made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Brumſtat, into which the Imperial regiment of Portia, conſiſting of 900 men, had thrown itſelf in its march to join the Duke of Bournonville at Enſiſheim; he made them all priſoners except the Colonel and Major of the regiment who had leave to depart.

30 Decemb.

An. 1675. All the French army being got together, the Viſcount made his dragoons and the brigade of Sourdis march to Enſiſheim, which they found abandoned. The third of January he took up his quarters there, marched next day to the caſtle of Ruffac, where there were 400 dragoons of Brandenburgh and 150 troopers and cauſed them to be blocked up by the brigade of Lanſon: he continued his rout ſtrait to Paſſenheim where his cavalry waited in order of battle till his infantry came up, who having joined them on the fourth of January in the evening, he ſtaid there all night. After the engagement at Mulhauſen, the enemy had removed all their quarters to Colmar, where the Elector of Brandenburgh had his: and as they ſaw that the Viſcount was marching directly to them they choſe to wait for him in that poſt. It would have been difficult to have found one more advantageous; they had Colmar and the river Ill on their left, the mountain and town of Turkeim on their right, and at their front a branch of the river Fecht which cuts the plain and runs along from the one town to the other. Beyond this river they drew up their army in battalia, made parapets along the banks, erected ſome batteries there and others at Colmar to canonade the flank of any troops that ſhould

The Viſcount marches towards the enemy with a view to offer them battle.

3 January.

ſhould come into the plain, being perſuaded that it was impoſſible to approach their camp by any other way. The Viſcount cauſed their ſituation to be viewed; he himſelf knew exactly all the places thereabout, and though it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to attack ſo powerful an army in ſuch an advantageous poſt, yet he marched towards the enemy on the fifth of January in the morning. An. 1675.

The order of the Viſcount's march to Turkeim.

The whole army advanced in two columns with a vanguard of 2000 foot and 400 grenadiers: after a two hours march it was within a league and a half of the enemy, and there was nothing between them and it but the river in an open plain a league broad. The cavalry which had ſerved the whole campaign under the Viſcount, were both very much fatigued and conſiderably diminiſhed, but his infantry was good: he had received from the army in Flanders a re-inforcement of near 100 ſquadrons and twenty battalions: the whole together amounted to above 30,000 men accuſtomed to fight under Generals of conſummate experience. As ſoon as the French had entered the plain, the Viſcount formed his right wing, gave the command of it to the Count de Lorges, and led his vanguard to the left, cloſe by the foot of the hills, the ground full of vines and encumbered with hedges: as his Officers ſaw only the inconveniencies without diſcovering the advantages of it, they had need of all their confidence in the capacity of their General to keep themſelves from being diſcouraged. The left wing marched in this manner, and entered by the valley of S. Gregory an opening of the mountain where the ſmall town of Turkeim is ſituated, about a league and a half from Colmar and at the foot of the mountains of Alſace, in the end of a great meadow near the river Fecht, which divides itſelf into two branches and forms an Iſle, where the enemy were drawn up in order of battle.

The

An. 1675. The Count de Lorges who commanded the right wing, extended it in the plain to a church near Colmar as if he had intended to attack that town, which made the enemy neglect Turkeim and bring all their troops to the left to oppoſe the attempts of the French right wing towards Colmar. They ſoon after found out the Viſcount's ſtratagem, and to remedy their error, detached on their right towards Turkeim twelve battalions and ſix pieces of canon ſupported by a pretty large body of cavalry to hinder the French from paſſing the river and making themſelves maſters of the town. The Viſcount made Lieutenant General Foucault advance with eight battalions and attack the poſt which the enemy had ſeized along the brook, ordering him, in caſe he ſhould drive them from thence, not to follow them nor take their canon, in order to avoid a general battle; he likewiſe forbad him to begin the attack till an hour before ſun ſet, that the enemy might take counſel in the night and retire by favour of it to prevent being attacked next day in front and flank. Foucault marched with the eight battalions till he was oppoſite to the detachment of the Imperialiſts, he ſtood their fire for ſome time with a great deal of firmneſs, and was ſoon re-inforced by the Queen's battalion and thoſe of Navarre, Anjou and Vaiſſeaux, who bravely paſſed the river and made ſeveral diſcharges. The enemy could not ſuſtain their attack, they gave ground by degrees and began to retreat, which encouraged the French to puſh them and take poſſeſſion of their poſt: the Imperialiſts immediately abandoned Turkeim. Night came on, and ſuſpended the battle till next day: the Viſcount's troops continued in the ſituation they were in, only he ſent and ſeized an eminence above Turkeim with a view to make uſe of it if the enemy ſtaid in their camp till day: but fear having ſeized the Imperialiſts, they retired by night and at ſun riſing there was no enemy to be ſeen in

The action of Turkeim. 5 January.

in the plain. Thus ended the action of Turkeim, where Lieutenant General Foucault and the Marquis de Mouchi a Brigadier were killed. Never did the Viſcount give more ſignal proofs of his foreſight, of the greatneſs of genius and capacity in war, than on this occaſion. An. 1675.

The next day Turenne advanced along the brook towards Colmar, where he learned that the enemy had made their baggage and artillery file off, that at midnight their army had decamped in great diſorder, having poſted a few ſquadrons only on the banks of the river during the night to cover their retreat; that they had taken the road to Scheleſtat and left their ſick and wounded men in Colmar: and indeed the French found 3000 of them there and ſeveral officers. At nine in the morning Monclar was detached with the brigades of Humieres and Lambert to follow them and obſerve them without attempting any thing. The Imperialiſts being arrived at Scheleſtat, poſted themſelves advantageouſly there, extended themſelves to Chatenoi and thus took up all the breadth of country from the mountains of Alſace to the river Ill; they ſtaid there three days waiting till their baggage and artillery had got paſt the defiles, and then marched to Benfeld in order to croſs the Rhine at the bridge of Straſburgh. On the ninth the Viſcount followed them, took up his quarters at Gemer, ſpread his troops all round Scheleſtat and entered the town himſelf in order to remove the Burgo-Maſters fears. On the eleventh the enemy's army left Benfeld and repaſſed the Rhine. Turenne had on the third ſent a letter to Straſburgh, aſſuring the inhabitants that he would obſerve a neutrality with them, without doing them any harm, forgiving and forgetting all that was paſt. This letter had produced the effect deſired, and the Magiſtrates truſting to the aſſurances he had given them, ſent to him on the fourteenth Kinſer, the town Secretary, to inform him that

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The Imperialiſts repaſs the Rhine. 6 January.

An. 1675. that the confederates had repaſſed the Rhine and to deſire him to renew the neutrality: the Viſcount agreed to it on condition that they would not allow the enemy to croſs at their bridge.

The Viſcount's letter to le Tellier Secretary of State.

The ſucceſs of this campaign aſtoniſhed all Europe, but the ſurprize was ſtill greater when it was known that the Viſcount had foretold it two months before. The King cauſed to be read in preſence of all the Court a letter from the General dated the thirtieth of October at his camp at Dettweiler and directed to le Tellier Secretary of State, in which Turenne ſignified to him, "That pretending not "to be able to reſiſt the enemy after their junction "with the Elector of Brandenburgh, he would ſtill "retire before them; that to give them the greater "confidence he would retreat quite into Lorrain; af-"ter which they would not fail to extend themſelves "all over Alſace; that then he would fall upon their "quarters by a way that they ſhould never ſuſpect "his coming to ſurprize them; and that he would "perhaps oblige them to repaſs the Rhine and take "up their winter quarters in their own country.

The Viſcount was yet in his camp near Scheleſtat when he received a letter dated the thirteenth of January at S. Germain en Laye in which the King expreſſed a great impatience to ſee him. He immediately ſet out for Paris, after he had given the neceſſary orders for the ſecurity of Alſace, and left the command of the army to the Marquis de Vaubrun, who ſoon made himſelf maſter of Molſheim, Mozig and Achſteim the only place which the confederates held in Alſace; Vaubrun poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral other poſts in Briſgaw which ſecured a communication with the country on both ſides the Rhine, provided plenty of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of the troops in their winter quarters, and thus put an end to a campaign that was ſo fortunate to France.

The Viſcount goes to Court.

The Viſcount de Turenne in his way to Paris, met every

every where great multitudes of people of all ages and conditions who came to ſee him; the inhabitants of Champagne flocked together in crowds ten leagues round, ſhed tears of joy upon ſeeing him, and looked upon him as a deliverer who had ſaved them from the calamities of an approaching invaſion. When he arrived at Court, the King received him with greater marks of eſteem and favour than he had ever ſhowed to any body: the whole converſation in Paris turned upon his laſt campaign, the luſtre of which ſeemed to eclipſe all his preceding ones; it was ſaid every where that *Fabius* was become *Alexander*; he was looked upon as the preſerver of the State; people ſtop'd in the ſtreets to ſee him as he paſſed; he could not appear in publick without being ſurrounded by a crowd of people, who wept with joy and admiration. An. 1675.

Louvois himſelf could not avoid doing juſtice to this General; he reflected with a kind of confuſion on all the diſadvantageous judgments he had paſſed on the Viſcount's conduct during this long and glorious campaign. The Prince of Condé being diſſatisfied with the Miniſter, ſpoke of his diſcontent to Turenne; and they both reſolved to complain of him to the King, not ſo much to gratify their reſentments as to hinder his diſconcerting the projects of the enſuing campaign. Condé was ſoftened and appeaſed by the ſubmiſſions of the Chancellor le Tellier, [the Miniſter's father] but the Viſcount de Turenne thinking he ſhould fail in his duty if he kept ſilence, ſpoke reſolutely to the King, and made him ſenſible that tho' Louvois was an able Miniſter yet he was not always qualified to judge of the operations of a war in a remote country ſo well as the Generals who were upon the ſpot. He did not ſo much as mention any thing that regarded himſelf perſonally, and dwelt only on ſuch matters as might affect the welfare of the State: he deſired leave of the King to write to him directly, and to have his letters delivered by his nephew Cardinal

The Viſcount's conduct with regard to Louvois.

An. 1675. dinal Bouillon. Louis granted him all he aſked, a admired the moderation, generoſity, and greatn of ſoul of a man who did juſtice to the merit even thoſe who had endeavoured to injure him. He a terwards ordered Louvois to go wait on the Vi count, make his apology to him for what ha paſt in the preceding campaign, and deſire his friend ſhip. Louvois obeyed, not only becauſe it behove him to ſubmit to the orders of a King who neve gave any that could be neglected with impunity, bu from a real deſire of gaining the eſteem of a He ro, to whom no body could with honour be a de clared enemy. The Viſcount received Louvois with that dignity and affability which always unite in great men to inſpire at the ſame time reſpect and love. He heard the Miniſter's compliment and then an-ſwered him, "I have done a great deal to gain your "friendſhip, becauſe the King's ſervice required it; "and yet I have not been able hitherto to obtain it. "You now aſk mine becauſe his Majeſty orders "you ſo to do; I do not refuſe it you: but allow "me to tell you that I ſhall not make you a pro-"miſe of it till you have ſhewn by your conduct "that you deſire it in earneſt.

The Viſcount has a mind to retire, but the King hinders him.

The Viſcount's glory and reputation were quickly ſpread not only in the Capital and the moſt diſtant Provinces, but alſo in foreign countries. Moſt of the Princes in Europe ſpoke of him as of an extraordinary man; no body had ever heard of a reputation more ſhining or more extenſive. Far from being elevated or growing proud amidſt all this ſplendor, he was ſenſible of the vanity of it from the principles of virtue which poſſeſſed his mind.

He had once again a mind to retire from the diſtractions of the world; the Houſe of the Inſtitution of the Prieſts of the Oratory * was the place he had choſen,

* Tradition of the family of Bouillon. The ſame tradition is among the Fathers of the Oratory, and was originally founded on the teſtimony of du Cr-

hoſen, there to give himſelf up to the pure plea- An. 1675.
ures of a life of thought and contemplation: but
he King again forbidding his retirement, he obey'd
nd prepared to make a campaign againſt one of the
reateſt Generals of the age.

In the preceding year, France by herſelf, without allies, had maintained the war againſt the Spaniards, Imperialiſts and Dutch: ſhe had conquered Franche-Comté, preſerved all her frontiers and obliged the Germans to ſeek their winter quarters on the other ſide of the Rhine. A treaty of peace was ſet on foot during the winter, and Nimeguen was agreed upon for the place of negotiation; but the Emperor Leopold refuſing to ſet at liberty Prince William of Furſtemberg, afterwards Cardinal and Biſhop of Straſburgh, whom he kept priſoner, Louis XIV. demanded his enlargement and would hearken to no propoſals for a peace without that preliminary. The King of Sweden gave up his title of Mediator which he had bore for two years paſt, and declared war againſt the Elector of Brandenburgh: which produced in favour of France a diverſion of the troops of the Empire, and obliged the Elector and the Princes of Brunſwick and Luneburgh to retire from the banks of the Rhine and enter with the Biſhop of Munſter's troops into the Country of Bremen. There then appeared in Europe ſix great armies commanded by ſix Generals of diſtinguiſhed capacity and valour. The Prince of Condé returned into Flanders in the month of May to fight the Spaniards and Dutch commanded by the Prince of Orange: the Elector of Brandenburgh put himſelf at the head of his troops and thoſe of his allies to oppoſe the Swedes whoſe General was the Conſtable Wrangel; the Emperor ſent the

Six great armies in Europe commanded by ſix great Generals.

ſtel and S. Denis Fathers of the ſame ſociety, who M. de Turenne had ſucceſſively with him in the campaigns that followed his converſion.

An. 1675. Count de Montecuculli into Swabia to hearten the Imperialiſts, ſtill terrified at Turenne's victories.

The Viſcount's juſtice.

The Viſcount uſed in the beginning of every campaign to regulate his accounts and pay all his debts: he was more than ordinary ſollicitous this year to ſee that piece of juſtice performed. * Before his departure for Alſace he went to viſit Cardinal de Retz and told him that were it not for the preſent ſituation of affairs he would retire as he had done. He left Paris on the eleventh of May and went to Scheleſtadt, where the troops which had ſtaid in Alſace under the command of the Marquis de Vaubrun were to rendezvous.

11 May.

The Count de Montecuculli endeavours to ſeduce the inhabitants of Straſburgh.

Montecuculli had a deſign to paſs the Rhine at Straſburgh, and endeavour to reap, in the higher Alſace, thoſe advantages of which the multiplicity of counſels and the bad conduct of the confederate Generals had till then deprived them. He had taken the Emperor's old troops from their winter quarters much ſooner than uſual, and made them advance towards Straſburgh. He went thither himſelf to view the neighbouring poſts, and to repreſent to the inhabitants that it was their intereſt in particular and that of the Empire in general to allow him a paſſage; that it was the only means to drive the French from the Rhine, and to reſtore Alſace to its liberty; that they had no reaſon to fear a turn like that which happened in the laſt campaign; that he did not command an army levied in haſte, divided in intereſt and conducted by leaders of different ſentiments and equal authority, but was alone at the head of the flower of the Imperial troops in order to deliver Alſace from a foreign yoke. Turenne was informed at Nancy of Montecuculli's negotiations, and judged that his preſence was the only thing that would keep the inhabitants of Straſburgh ſteddy to their neutrality: he haſtened to enter Alſace, made

* Madame de Sevigne's Letters. Vol. II. Let. 201.

his

his troops advance with all expedition to join the reſt at the rendezvous at Scheleſtadt, arrived there as ſoon as they, and marched immediately with his cavalry to Benfeld four leagues and an half from Straſburgh; the inhabitants terrified at his approach ſent to aſſure him that they would continue neuter. On the 27th of May he went and encamped at the village of Achenem a league and a half from Straſburgh, from whence might be ſeen the whole French army entrenched in two lines: by this diligence the Viſcount put himſelf in a condition to gain all the advantages of the campaign. Had he delayed his march for ſome days Montecuculli would have paſſed the Rhine, entered the higher Alſace and reduced the French to a worſe condition than they were in the year before: but the half of the Imperial army which had wintered in the Country of Liege could not come up time enough to paſs the Rhine with the troops which the German General had drawn out of their quarters in Suabia: though he ſaw his meaſures diſconcerted, yet he did not give over the deſign upon which his whole ſcheme for the campaign turned; which was to find an opportunity of croſſing the Rhine and to oblige the French General to keep at a diſtance from Straſburgh: he marched ſtrait to Philipſburgh, gave out that he intended to beſiege it, ſeized all the poſts round it, cauſed the flying bridges at Manheim to be put in order, and a bridge of boats to be made near Spires. An. 1675. 27 May.

Montecuculli paſſes the Rhine near Spires, and the Viſcount makes bridges at Ottenheim.

The Viſcount left his army in the camp at Achenheim, advanced with 400 horſe and 1000 dragoons as far as Haguenau, took from thence 100 foot which he threw into Philipſburgh, and then rejoined his army. Montecuculli made a part of his troops paſs the Rhine, ſent ſome cavalry to Landau and Neuſtadt, and made a body of Croatians advance to Lauterbourg in order to engage the Viſcount to march up to him or cover Haguenau; all theſe feints did not move

An. 1675. Turenne: as he judged rightly of the enemy's deſign by the knowledge he had of their true intereſt, nothing could make him remove far from the capital of Alſace. In the beginning of June he detached the Marquis de Vaubrun with his regiment of cavalry, that of Gournay, Rambure's brigade of infantry and ſix pieces of canon to go and encamp at Erſtein on the river Ill and to make with all expedition a bridge over the Rhine four leagues from Straſburgh near the village of Ottenheim in a place where the river dividing itſelf into five branches forms ſeveral Iſlands covered with woods: it was neceſſary to have as many bridges there, and to cut roads acroſs the woods: boats and other neceſſary materials were brought from Briſac for making theſe bridges, which, by the care of the Marquis de Vaubrun, were finiſhed in four days together with an entrenchment at the head of the laſt.

The Viſcount encamps at Vilſtet in Ortnau. 6 June.

On the ſixth of June the Viſcount went to viſit this work, paſſed the Rhine, and viewed the places about the bridges going down the river as far as Ottenheim. The next day, having ordered his men to take bread for four days, he decamped at two in the morning and marched with the whole army after the Marquis de Vaubrun who led the vanguard. There were but five leagues to Ottenheim where they were to encamp on the other ſide of the Rhine; but the rain had made the roads ſo bad that the rear could not come up till next morning, and the Viſcount continued all night at the head of the laſt bridge to make the troops advance. Scarce was the rear arrived when he made the van march; and notwithſtanding the rain and the defiles by five in the evening he got to Vilſtet: this village is one of the dependencies of the County of Hainau, is near two leagues from Straſburgh and watered by the river Quinche which iſſues from the mountains of the Black-Foreſt and falls into the Rhine a little below fort Kell. The Viſcount

Viſcount incamped his army from Vilſtet and the river Quinche to the village of Ekerſvir by which runs the brook of Schutteren, which joins the Quinche a little before it falls into the Rhine; and by this ſituation he cut off the enemies way to Straſburgh, nor could they come to him but through long defiles and by croſſing a river. An. 1675.

Montecuculli not having penetrated into the Viſcount's deſign, had let him ſeize the poſt of Vilſtet at the ſame time that he ſent word to the inhabitants of Straſburgh that he was coming to take poſſeſſion of it himſelf; he did not on that occaſion ſhew the ſame activity that the Viſcount had done fifteen days before. Montecuculli was again diſconcerted and found that the only thing he could do was to march directly to the French army. The Viſcount ſent to view the town of Offembourg, which was two leagues from his camp; it was in too good condition for him to undertake the ſiege of it; Montecuculli had made Lieutenant General Spork march thither with a great body of cavalry, three ſquadrons of which were thrown into the place. On the thirteenth of June the enemy drew near: the Viſcount went to view them himſelf, and ſeeing how they directed their march he made his army encamp in battalia with the front towards the place by which they were to paſs. The Imperial army conſiſting of 25,000 men, extended itſelf from Ortemberg where its left was, to beyond Offembourg along the Quinche; its right was but a league and an half from the head quarters of the French army which did not amount to 20,000 men; but the defiles and woods which were in the ſpace that ſeparated the two armies, hindered them from coming nearer one another without diſadvantage and danger.

Montecuculli encamps between Ortemberg and Offembourg.

13 June.

The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon theſe two great Generals, whoſe ſucceſs was going to decide

The characters of the two Generals.

An. 1675. the fortune of the King's arms and thoſe of the Emperor in Germany. * They were near of an age, had had the ſame education, being formed by uncles who were rivals, Prince Maurice and Count Erneſt, had carried a muſket before they obtained any commiſſion, and acquired by fifty years fighting a conſummate experience in all the branches of the military art; both the one and the other had received from Heaven an extraordinary genius, a ſolid judgment, a mind maſter of itſelf, and a coolneſs of temper, which is no leſs neceſſary in a General than foreſight and valour. As they became Captains by ſtudy they fought by rules and left ſcarce any thing to fortune: and being adored by the ſoldiers, love to the General rather than the obedience due to the Sovereign ſeemed to animate each army: theſe two Generals knew, eſteemed and feared one another; neither of them durſt hope to get a victory through the fault of his enemy, he muſt gain it by force of genius and military ſcience. "This "laſt campaign, (according to the opinion † of a great "judge in the art of war) is the maſter-piece of the "Viſcount de Turenne and the Count de Montecu-"culli; there is nothing ſo fine in all antiquity; none "but the *Connoiſſeurs* in the art can form a right "judgment of it." How many obſtacles were there to ſurmount on both ſides! How many feints, marches, counter-marches, deep and artful ſtratagems and deſigns! It is by theſe things that great Generals are known, and not by eaſy conqueſts, or by gaining victories with a prodigious number of troops.

The enemy's deſign and the plan of the campaign.

The Viſcount had paſſed the Rhine; it was a bold ſtep which ſpread a terror in the Empire and obliged Montecuculli to try all ways to make him repaſs it: he could not ſucceed but by beating the French or depriving them of the means of ſubſiſtence; the former was uncertain and the latter might be tedi-

* See the characters of theſe two great Captains by the P. de Tournemine, in the journals of Trevoux for the month of May in the year 1707.

† Chevalier Follard, Polybius, Vol. I. p. 255.

ous:

ous: the Viſcount brought his proviſions from the upper Alſace by means of the bridges which he had over the branches of the Rhine, and had meadows behind him to feed his horſes when there ſhould be no more forrage. Montecuculli had not the ſame advantage: his army, followed by a great number of uſeleſs people and horſes, would probably be in want of proviſions ſooner than Turenne's. The Imperialiſts beſt expedient was to make themſelves maſters of the Viſcount's bridges: the project ſeemed feaſible and the ſucceſs would have procured them great advantages as well as great honour. Turenne had two bridges to guard, the one his own near Ottenheim, and the other belonging to the inhabitants of Straſburgh, who waited only an opportunity to break their word with impunity: their bridge was guarded by the troops of the Circle of Suabia poſted in fort Kell, which the Viſcount could not hinder Montecuculli from ſeizing but by ſtaying at Vilſtet, near five leagues from Ottenheim and two from Straſburgh, ſo that he had an extent of ſeven leagues to guard. An. 1675.

The Viſcount not doubting but that the enemy would apply themſelves to the taking of the bridges, cauſed eight battalions, three brigades of cavalry and eight pieces of canon to march under the command of the Count de Lorges and poſt themſelves at the village of Altenheim, a league and a half from the bridge of Ottenheim, the head of which was already guarded by the battalion of Bandeville and 800 men detached from Briſac to which were joined the battalion of Bretagne and the brigade of Renty. Turenne had had the precaution to open all the defiles from Vilſtet to the bridge that his troops might march with more eaſe and greater expedition from either of thoſe places to the other as occaſion ſhould require. After the enemy had encamped at Offembourg he poſted his dragoons in a wood on the right of his firſt line and 300 foot and 200 horſe on his left near Gieſſen. The Viſcount ſeizes all the advantageous poſts.

An. 1675. Montecuculli having for ſome days examined the ſituation of the French camp, and all the poſts poſſeſſed by the Viſcount, ſaw that he could not, nor ought to attack him; he had recourſe to ſtratagem, and made as if he had a mind to fall upon the bridge of Ottenheim, with a view to make Turenne abandon his poſt at Vilſtet. The French were ſoon after informed that the enemy had decamped and that all their army was marching towards Briſgau along the foot of the mountains of the Black Foreſt; ſome parties however brought word that it was only a great detachment: they were yet in an uncertainty when the Marquis d'Harcourt who had accompany'd the Count de Lorges came and told the Viſcount that forty ſquadrons of the enemy having appeared in ſight of the advanced guards of the detachment near Altenheim, he had made his troops march to a poſt which he had viewed with a deſign to fight the Imperialiſts if they paſſed that way, judging it better to do ſo than to go to the bridge, which he could not reach without expoſing his flank to the enemy and ſeparating himſelf entirely from the Count de Lorges's corps. *Young man*, anſwered the Viſcount, *you have made a very bold ſtep: we ſhall ſee preſently whether you have done well.* In a little time after Turenne decamped, left ſome infantry, cavalry and dragoons at Vilſtet, marched with his army in great haſte and took up his quarters at Altenheim: in his way he viewed the poſt which the Marquis d'Harcourt had ſeized, and exceedingly commended his conduct: he then made the Count de Lorges advance to Meiſſenheim a league nearer the bridge, and by this diſpoſition covered the poſts of Ottenheim and Vilſtet, and put himſelf in a condition of ſuccouring whichſoever of them ſhould be attacked: moreover he was ſenſible from his knowledge of the country that the Imperialiſts could not come at them but with difficulty and by marching in file.

Montecuculli endeavours to make the Viſcount abandon his poſt at Vilſtet.

18 June.

The

The Imperialiſts after marching three leagues had taken up their head quarters at the Abbey of Schutteren on the brook of the ſame name, extending their left to Loor along the foot of the mountain, which they kept behind them; there was but a league between their camp, and that of the French, which were ſeparated only by the brook Dunditz fordable every where, but the banks of which were very ſteep. The Viſcount went himſelf to view the brook, and found a bridge over it on the mid-way between the two armies, where the enemy had planted no guard; he broke it down, and left at the paſſage 50 men ſupported by ſeveral detachments in different poſts from that place to the army; he took the ſame precaution in other parts where the paſſage ſeemed the eaſieſt. The Count de Montecuculli ſeeing himſelf once more prevented, continued in his camp at the Abbey of Schutteren, and made divers motions to the right and left, ſometimes towards the bridge of Altenheim, ſometimes towards that of Strasburgh; the Viſcount obſerved him narrowly, was every where, and ſo well defended his two bridges, that the enemy could not make themſelves maſters of either the one or the other. During all the time that the two armies continued in this ſituation, there hardly paſſed a day without ſome rencounters; the Imperialiſts and French perpetually harraſſed each other, yet nothing more happened than ſlight ſkirmiſhes.

An. 1675.

Montecuculli makes divers marches and counter-marches, with a view to ſurprize the Viſcount.

The enemy could not conceive how the Viſcount with 20,000 men, had ſo guarded an extent of ground of three long leagues from Vilſtet to Ottenheim, that he was ſtill at hand to defend his own bridge and that of Strasburgh, whenever they began to march towards the one or the other: he was continually in motion, and his troops always in action. However to ſpare them this extraordinary fatigue,

The Viſcount removes his bridge from Ottenheim, to Altenheim.

An. 1675. fatigue, he cauſed the bridge at Ottenheim to be behind him, to be removed near Altenheim, where he took up his head quarters: the men began to work at the bridge on the twenty ſecond of June, and on the twenty ſixth it was finiſhed in a place where there were as many iſles as in the other, where the ground was better for paſſing, and which was nearer Strasburgh. By thus contracting his army, the Viſcount had not much above two leagues to guard, from Altenheim to Vilſtet.

June 22.
June 26.

Montecuculli goes to his old camp at Offembourg and then quits it: the Viſcount follows him from poſt to poſt.

The enemy ſaw the deſigns they had upon the bridge of the French army thus defeated, and found themſelves in a very perplexing ſituation; they had conſumed all the proviſions of the little Imperial towns round about them, and could find none but what they brought from Suabia by the valley of the river Quinche, which was a very long and difficult way; while on the other hand there came abundance into the French camp from Alſace by Altenheim, and from Briſac by the Rhine. The Imperialiſts could not extend themſelves either to the right or the left, becauſe they were ſhut up on one ſide by the river, and on the other by the mountains; they would willingly have marched towards Friburg, where there were great magazines; but in going thither they would have expoſed their flank to the French: the ſafeſt method was to return back, and notwithſtanding the ſhame of it they reſolved to retire. Montecuculli left the Abbey of Schutteren, regained his old camp at Offembourg, and the Viſcount returned to Vilſtet: examining the enemy's procedure, he judged that having given over the deſign of poſſeſſing themſelves of his bridge, they could have no other view but that of drawing near to Straſburgh, in order to have ſome communication with that great town by boats on the Rhine: being reſolved to keep by the ſide of them, and defend the approaches to the river without

without going too far from his bridge, he paſſed the Quinche between Vilſtet and Straſburgh, poſted his right at the river near Neumul, and leaving Strasburgh behind him he extended his left to Boderſvir under the command of the Count de Lorges. The Imperialiſts then quitted Offembourg, advanced two leagues, and poſted themſelves from Urlaff to Brunhurſt. The next day the Viſcount leaving his left wing at Boderſvir, made his right advance to the other ſide of the village, in which he took up his head quarters, and poſted his dragoons in the front. An. 1675. June 28.

The two armies continued in this ſituation ſix days without doing any thing; then the Imperialiſts decamped and marched into the little plain of Schertzen, where the Rhine being at their right, and the Renchen at the head of their camp, they extended themſelves from Renchenloch to Lichtenau, five leagues from Strasburgh. The Viſcount had cauſed the Count de Roye to view that poſt a little before, and would have ſeized it before the enemy, if he could have made his army march without expoſing Vilſtet, and by conſequence the bridge near Altenheim and that at Strasburgh. When he had advice that the enemy were there, he decamped by break of day, marched through Biſchen to the entrance of a wood, the defile of which terminates at Renchenloch, drew up his army in order of battle in a little plain between the wood and the village of Freiſtet and detached in form of a battalion 50 men of the brigade of Campagne ſupported by eight or ten ſquadrons under the Count de Lorges to view the enemy's entrenchments. The Viſcount being informed that all the Imperial army was near him, made his own retire a little, and extend itſelf from Biſchen to Freiſtet, his left being towards the Rhine in two or three lines: a wood five or ſix hundred paces croſs, and a ſmall brook which ran in a marſhy ground ſepa- Montecuculli again decamps, and the Viſcount follows him. July 3d. July 4th.

An. 1675. rated the two armies: one would think that they could not have been ſo near without continually alarming each other, and coming to blows every moment; it was but a quarter of a league from the head of the French camp to the entrenchments of the Imperialiſts; the centinels of the advanced guards were within muſket-ſhot of one another; nevertheleſs ſuch confidence had the troops in their Generals, that they ſlept quietly in their reſpective camps. Montecuculli by this ſituation purſued his deſign of not fighting, and endeavoured in his turn to weary out the French by want of forrage, being perſuaded that they could not ſupport themſelves long in a narrow country, encloſed on the one ſide by moraſſes and mountains, and on the other by the Rhine; ruined the laſt year by the winter quarters of the Imperialiſts, and by the great number of troops which had ſubſiſted there for above two months paſt. The Viſcount always found new expedients: when the grain was conſumed, he made his horſes live upon graſs, while he incommoded the enemy by cutting off the communication with Strasburgh, where they had got together great quantities of flour.

Montecuculli makes a bridge of boats at Straſburgh, and the Viſcount hinders him from making any advantage of it.

Montecuculli not being able to bring his convoys of proviſions by land without danger, had cauſed a bridge of boats to be made at Strasburgh, and two mills to be built capable of grinding a great quantity of grain. When he drew near the Rhine, and encamped in the plain of Schertzen between Renchenloch and Lichttenau, he thought that his bridge and flour would come down the river with ſo much the more eaſe, as the Rhine was very much ſwelled by the rains, and very difficult to be guarded, becauſe of the great number of iſles that divided it; he hoped by this method of conveyance to bring plenty of proviſions into his camp, and at the ſame time to be maſter of both ſides of the Rhine by means of his bridge. The Viſcount who fore-

ſaw his deſign, ordered the river to be viewed from the eminence of Biſchen to Vantznau, which is oppoſite to it on the other ſide of the Rhine: he found that the river was divided by ſeveral iſlands, but that there were only three principal channels; he ſhut up that of Vantznau by a ſtaccado, with a redoubt at each end, guarded by 500 men of the garriſon of Haguenau; he cauſed that near Biſchen to be ſtopped up after the ſame manner, and the great canal in the middle to be guarded by boats filled with ſoldiers, and covered by batteries raiſed in the iſlands; he at the ſame time ſent word to the inhabitants of Strasburgh, that if they ſuffered the enemy's bridge to come down the river, he would expect the like liberty for his at Altenheim. For two months Turenne and Montecuculli thus put in practiſe all that long experience had taught them: by their different motions real or feigned, they exhauſted all the fineſſes of art to ſtarve, intercept, ſurprize and gain ſome advantage over one another, without which both had determined not to hazard a battle. An. 1675.

The Viſcount's activity diſtreſſed the Imperialiſts; but his own army began to feel great inconveniencies; ever ſince it had paſſed the Rhine, which was ſix weeks before, there had been continual rains; the ſoldiers were encamped in mud and dirt, and had ſuffered a great deal in a ruined country; the horſes having conſumed the forrage and the graſs, had had nothing to live upon for ſome time paſt, but the leaves of trees; the young ſoldiers impatient of being in moraſſes, where they were often in water up to the knees, murmur'd, upon which the old ſoldiers ſaid to them: "*What makes you complain? you do not know our "General; when we are in any diſtreſs he is more "uneaſy than we: at this moment his thoughts are "wholly employed in contriving how to extricate

The great extremity to which the French army is reduced.

* Madame de Sevigné's letters, let. 206.

"us

An. 1675. "us from this difficulty; he is awake when we "ſleep, he is our father, it is eaſy to ſee that you "are but young." In the mean time the French were encloſed on one ſide by the Rhine, and on the other by vaſt woods full of moraſſes, and were reduced to a ſituation like that in which the Imperialiſts had lately been. Turenne had foreſeen this inconvenience; but he choſe rather to run the riſk of it, than let his rival take poſſeſſion of the bridge of Strasburgh. The enemy were encamped in a very advantageous poſt, they had forrage behind them, and a communication with Offembourg, from whence they could at the ſame time fall upon the bridge at Altenheim, and cut off the French army from all the country behind it. In order to guard that country, and prevent ſurprizes, it was neceſſary to place a great many troops in divers poſts at a diſtance from the camp; ſo that it was as difficult for the French to maintain their ground as to get proviſions. In the midſt of theſe perplexities, the Viſcount ſtill preſerved his preſence of mind, and formed a great and bold deſign: it was to poſſeſs himſelf of the upper part of the brook Renchen, encamp on the left of the enemy, cut off their communication with Offembourg, and ſhut them up in ſuch a manner that they muſt fight or retire. The bad weather which had continued for two months, hindered the execution of this project ſome days: while the Viſcount waited for a proper time to act he cauſed all the ground up along the Renchen to be viewed: he had obſerved that the enemy guarded it for three quarters of a league from the place where the brook diſcharged itſelf into the Rhine, and that they had ſeized no poſts higher up. A ſhepherd who lived in the woods, and who knew perfectly well all the by ways of them, ſhewed the Viſcount a ford of the Renchen, 500 paces above Montecuculli's camp, in a deſart place where there was no road.

The

The bad weather being over about the 10th of July, and the ſun having dried the roads a little, Turenne marched on the 15th in the evening to the ford of Renchen with the brigade of marine and ſome pieces of canon. They croſſed a marſhy wood, which they were obliged to cut in order to make a road. They paſſed ſeveral brooks, where they were up to the middle in water; the ſoldiers loaded with inſtruments and materials for making entrenchments and a bridge, arrived before midnight, not one of them having thrown away the leaſt tool: they inſtantly began to make a bridge with a redan at the end of it, and entrenched a little iſland on the left. The works being finiſhed in three days, the Count de Hamilton led three battalions to guard the poſt, and fortified the places round it with great numbers of trees laid along: two Iriſh battalions poſſeſſed an empty ſpace a little higher up in the ſame wood, in order to ſupport Hamilton. All neceſſary precautions being thus taken for ſecuring the poſt, Turenne marched himſelf with a brigade of cavalry and the dragoons half a league higher up, croſſing the wood till he came to Vaghurſt, where he paſſed the Renchen, viewed the ground thereabouts, routed ſome of the enemy's cavalry that appeared, and ſent a party of his own to favour the march of the Count du Pleſſis, whom he had ordered to come from Vilſtet with three battalions, with a view to poſt him on this ſide the brook oppoſite to Vaghurſt, in a place which he cauſed to be entrenched on purpoſe. He at the ſame time put the battalion of Reveillon in the caſtle of Renchen on the brook of that name 500 paces above Vaghurſt, and as the way to that place was a continued moraſs in the wood, he cauſed it to be covered with faſcines, in order to facilitate the march of the army. As he was obliged to leave but few troops in his camp at Freiſtedt, whenever he ſhould march againſt the enemy, he

An. 1675.

The Viſcount forms ſeveral detachments, and endeavours to force Montecuculli to retire or fight.

July 15.

July 18.

An. 1675. he drew an entrenchment which covered the front of it from the Rhine to the wood: at length all the preparations being made, he communicated his deſign to the General Officers.

Montecuculli endeavours to ſurprize the Viſcount.

Montecuculli was ſoon informed of the ſeveral detachments of the French army, and reſolved to ſurprize them in different places, thinking them to be too far aſunder to be able to ſupport one another; he ſent orders to Caprara to come by Offembourg, and attack them at Vaghurſt with 2000 foot and ſome canon; he made the Prince of Lorrain ſet out from the camp at Schertzen with 4000 horſe, and 1000 dragoons to charge them on the other ſide, while he himſelf was to fall upon their camp at Freiſtedt by the defile of Renchenloch; he at the ſame time commanded 4000 men to march towards Count Hamilton's entrenchments: the four firſt canon that ſhould be fired at this laſt attack was to be the ſignal for the others to begin; his whole army was thus diſtributed, and there was hardly any body left in his camp. This deſign which was to be put in execution on the 23d at night, was defeated by Turenne's continual vigilance: he having left ſix battalions and four brigades of horſe under the Count de Lorges at Freiſtedt, marched directly to Vaghurſt with eight battalions, four brigades of cavalry, ſome dragoons, and a part of his canon; he took from thence two of the Count du Pleſſis's battalions, and having paſſed the Renchen went and encamped at a tile-kiln not far from the brook. As he deſigned to advance towards the enemy the next day, he detached 60 dragoons to get intelligence of them: they got near the village of Gamhurſt a little after midnight, and met the corps which the Prince of Lorrain was leading to ſurprize the Count du Pleſſis; they retired ſkirmiſhing towards the army: Turenne made ſome dragoons advance, and the Marquis de Vaubrun led

led thither ſome cavalry. Day began to appear, but darkened by a fog, when the enemy who had repulſed the detachment of dragoons, put in diſorder thoſe who were come to ſupport them, and fell upon the Marquis de Vaubrun unawares; his firſt ſquadrons were beat back, and he himſelf was encloſed, wounded and in danger of being taken. The enemy ſtill advanced and were going to overwhelm him entirely, when the Viſcount cauſed four battalions to advance, who lined the hedges, ſtopped the Imperialiſts, and changed the face of the battle. The Prince of Lorrain having learnt that the Viſcount de Turenne was there in perſon with the greateſt part of his army, retired immediately: the miſt was favourable to him; he left 100 or 120 men dead on the ſpot, and had almoſt as many wounded; Turenne did not think it proper to purſue him, during the fog, in a cloſe and intricate country. Count Caprara, who had marched near to Vaghurſt, according to the orders he had received, not hearing the ſignal, led back his troops to Offembourg. On the other hand the 4000 men who were to attack Hamilton's quarters, being miſled by their guides in the night could not arrive at the place; they returned to their camp about break of day; and as they had not given the ſignal of the four canon ſhot, Montecuculli made no attempt upon the French camp at Freiſtedt. He had heard nothing of Turenne's march, whoſe diligence had defeated the deſign about which he had taken ſo much pains. At the age of 64 the Viſcount had all the activity and vigour of a young man: he was continually on horſeback, viewed even the leaſt important poſts himſelf, and judged of every thing by his own eyes; whereas Montecuculli who was 66, was more broke, afflicted with the gout, leſs fit for action, and often obliged to form his ſchemes upon the reports of others. An. 1675.

An. 1675. When the miſt went off, the Viſcount continuing his deſign, followed the Prince of Lorrain by a cauſey that ran acroſs the fields, and arrived by nine in the morning at the village of Gamhurſt. He made his troops encamp in the meadow, having at his right the brook which ſeparated it from the village, and in his front a wood, where he placed two battalions of Auvergne in order to have a communication with Count Hamilton's poſt, which was but a quarter of a league off. Thus the French army, divided in ſix different poſts within the compaſs of a league and a half, encloſed the front and left wing of the enemy, and was itſelf in ſecurity, becauſe the ſeveral parts could with eaſe aſſiſt one another; while the Imperialiſts being ſhut up on their right by the Rhine, could extend themſelves no way but towards the places behind them, and the French were near enough to cut off their retreat. The Viſcount ſpent the reſt of the twenty fourth in viewing the ground about his camp without paſſing the brook, on the other ſide of which was the village of Gamhurſt, which is 600 paces in length. On the 25th in the morning a captain of dragoons who went to reconnoitre, ſaw behind the village ſeveral ſquadrons in a ſmall plain to the right, and ſome infantry entring the village, and beginning to entrench themſelves there. The Viſcount ordered them to be attacked by the Queen's dragoons, and went thither himſelf with a detachment of the ſecond line. The enemy, tho' very numerous, did not diſpute the village, they retired immediately to their camp, and only left in the Church 200 men commanded by a Frenchman called Chevreulles: the Churchyard was a high ground incloſed with a wall; Chevreulles defended himſelf there with bravery, and was not taken priſoner till he had loſt almoſt all his ſoldiers. He was brought to the Viſcount, who learn'd of him that the Duke of Lorrain had ſent 2000

Montecuculli retires before the Viſcount who follows him.

July 25th.

2000 foot ſupported by ſome cavalry to ſeize that poſt, the taking of which would have given him room to extend himſelf on the other ſide of the river where there were ſome remainders of forrage. Montecuculli ſeeing that the French had paſſed the bounds he had endeavoured to ſet them by his entrenchments on the Renchen; that by a continuation of poſts from their camp at Frieſtedt to Gamhurſt, they had almoſt encloſed him, and that they would become maſters of the forrage which he had ſpared, thought it proper to quit his poſt before he was more cloſely hemmed in. On the twenty fifth at night, he decamped from Schertzen, marched by Lichtenau and went to Bihel two leagues from Baden. The Viſcount being informed the ſame night that the enemy were retiring, ſent to view their march, and having got together all his troops into one camp at Gamhurſt, he led them next morning by break of day ſtrait to Acheren. Scarce was he gone out of the village, when he had accounts that the enemy appeared behind the little town of Saſpach, a poſt advantageouſly ſituated at the foot of a mountain. Montecuculli had ſent ſome infantry betimes to take poſſeſſion of a Church ſurrounded by a ditch, which intirely ſhut up a defile which led to the town; he at the ſame time ſent word to Caprara to come and join him with the corps which he had at Offembourg. Montecuculli having marched with great expedition, arrived at Saſpach on one ſide, while Turenne drew near to it on the other: Caprara appeared there likewiſe at the ſame time, and ſeeing the French army at hand, made his infantry enter the paſs of the mountain under cover of hedges and woods along the banks of a brook, which had made ſeveral deep channels that ſeparated his men from the French. A little lower to the right of the Imperialiſts was Saſpach, the church of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves of; and their cavalry which already appeared in the plain

An. 1675.

July 26.

An. 1675. behind the town on the left, poſted themſelves by degrees in cloſe ranks at the foot of the mountain.

The Viſcount reſolves to attack the enemy; but is killed.

Near the place where the French army was, ſome hedges that began at Acheren formed a defile, with a wood that ran along the foot of the mountain: this defile led into a little plain terminated by the town of Saſpach, which was concealed from ſight by a ſmall eminence. The Viſcount at firſt had ſome hopes of being able to make himſelf maſter of the town; after hearing Maſs, where he communicated, he went to view the church ſituated in the entrance of the defile; but did not think that it could be attacked: then having examined the ſituation of the enemy's right, which was covered by brooks, hollow ways, woods and entrenchments, he laſt of all viewed their left, where they had taken no precautions; there he perceived a defile through which he could convey himſelf, and formed a deſign to attack them on that ſide. After profound reflection, every thing appeared to him ſo favourably diſpoſed, that he could not help ſaying to ſome General Officers: *It is done, I have them, they cannot eſcape me any more, and I ſhall ſoon reap the fruit of ſo fatiguing a campaign.* On ſuch occaſions he was not uſed either to be too confident or to diſcover his hopes of ſucceſs, far leſs to ſay that he was ſure of it. He continued to obſerve the enemy's camp, and tho' he could not well ſee all the Imperial troops, yet he perceived in the main body of their army many motions that denoted uneaſineſs; and indeed a great part of their baggage was already paſſing the mountain, and their whole army was preparing to make a retreat. The Viſcount went and reſted himſelf under a tree, where he breakfaſted and continued a pretty long time. He was ſtill there when he received advice that the enemy's infantry was in motion towards the mountain. He roſe up, mounted his horſe, and advanced to an eminence to ſee what the matter

matter was; he ordered thoſe that were with him not to follow him, and ſaid to the young Duke of Elbeuf, *Stay here, nephew, you are always running round me, you will make me be known.* Near the place whither he was going he met my Lord Hamilton, who ſaid to him; *Come this way, Sir, they are firing the way you are riding*; to which the Viſcount anſwered, *I ſhould not willingly be kill'd to day*; he went on and met S. Hilaire Lieutenant General of the artillery, who ſaid to him, pointing with his hand; *Look, Sir, upon that battery which I have raiſed there.* Scarce had he turned two paces back, when a ball from a canon fired by the enemy at a venture having firſt carried off S. Hilaire's arm that was ſtretched out towards the battery, took the Viſcount full in the breaſt: falling forward, his face lay upon the ſaddle-bow, and in this poſture his horſe carried him back to the place where he had left his company; there the horſe ſtopped, and THE GREAT TURENNE, having twice opened his eyes *, fell dead in the arms of his ſervants. S. Hilaire's ſon thinking his father mortally wounded, and beginning to weep and cry, the father ſaid to him, *It is not for me, child, that you ſhould lament, it is for that great man*, pointing to the Viſcount's body. An. 1673.

The conſternation of thoſe who ſaw him fall is inexpreſſible; Hamilton who had more command of himſelf than the reſt, conſidering of how great conſequence it was to conceal ſo fatal an accident from the ſoldiers, immediately threw a cloak over the body, and the misfortune was for ſome time kept a ſecret. The army however perceived that there was ſomething myſterious amongſt the Generals; the ſoldiers could not penetrate into the matter, but their officers having gueſſed it, began to make it publick. Such doleful news flew from rank to rank, and every where ſpread a profound ſilence, which was interrupted only by ſighs and lamentations. *Our fa-* The grief and conſternation of the army.

* See the Authorities No. 21. Madame de Sevigne's letters.

An. 1675. *ther is dead*, cried the ſoldiers tearing their hair, *and we are undone.* Every one had a mind to ſee his General's body; that ſad ſpectacle renewed their tears, they cried out with one common voice: * *Lead us to battle, we will revenge the death of our father.* Turenne's death put an end to the anxiety of the enemy's Generals, and the terror of their ſoldiers; they were ſenſible that they had gained a great advantage, becauſe France had ſuſtained a prodigious loſs. Montecuculli indeed by a greatneſs of ſoul rarely to be found in rivals, ſeemed unaffected with any thing but grief, and often repeated theſe words, *There is a man dead who was an honour to human nature.*

The French inſtead of attacking the Imperialiſts retire before them.

There were then no Lieutenant-Generals in the French army, but the Count de Lorges and the Marquis de Vaubrun, the latter of whom having ſtayed in the camp at Acheren, being unfit for action by reaſon of a wound he had received in the foot, returned to the army as ſoon as he learnt the news of the Viſcount's death. They conſulted a long time with the principal Officers upon what meaſures were proper to be taken, but they could come to no concluſion: whereupon the ſoldiers cried out ſeveral times: *Let Pye looſe, he will lead us:* meaning the horſe which the Viſcount commonly rode. At length after ſeveral deliberations, the French army, which was to have attacked the enemy if Turenne had lived, now purpoſed to retire, and the Imperialiſts who had thought of nothing but how to make their retreat, took a reſolution to attack the French. On the 28th in the evening the latter began to march towards the bridge at Altenheim. Scarce was their rear arrived at Biſchen when the Imperialiſts advanced to take poſſeſſion of Vilſtet, where the French had left their magazines, with the regiment of Britany to guard them: the King's army immediately decamped and haſtened to prevent the enemy, who ſeeing the French, ſtopt ſhort, and con-

* Madam de Sevigne's letters, Vol. II. lett. 201.

tented

tented themſelves with ſending a body of troops to- An. 1675.
wards the bridge at Altenheim to cut off their re-
treat. The Count de Lorges and the Marquis de Vaubrun had then a ſharp conteſt; the former had a mind to cover the bridge, and the latter was for maintaining the poſt at Vilſtet: they at length concluded to march directly to Altenheim after throwing into the Quinche the meal that was at Vilſtet. The Marquis de Vaubrun who led the van paſſed the Rhine with two brigades of cavalry, and two of infantry; the reſt of the army encamped at night on the other ſide of the bridge near Altenheim on the ſmall river Schutteren. The next day the Imperialiſts marched up with all expedition, and attacked the French; there enſued a terrible battle: the Count de Lorges behaved there with all the ſkill of a great General, and the Marquis de Vaubrun, at the firſt onſet, put himſelf at the head of the gendarmes, repaſſed the Rhine with his leg tied to the ſaddle, and attacked the enemy with ſo much valour and ſo little caution, that he was killed in the midſt of them. The Imperialiſts loſt in that battle 5000 men, and the French 3000; the latter afterwards retired, and paſſed the Rhine. As they were croſſing at the bridge of Altenheim, ſome ſoldiers covered with wounds, ſaid one to another: *Alas! if our father had been alive we ſhould not have been thus wounded.*

The French at length ſecured themſelves in Alſace under Scheleſtat: having their thoughts no longer taken up with the care of making head againſt the enemy, they felt more ſenſibly than ever the greatneſs of their loſs. The Officers and ſoldiers began again to lament their misfortune, to recal to mind all the virtues and good deeds of their General, and to recount them to one another, tho' none of them were ignorant of them. The Viſcount's nephews who were then in the army, had a ſervice performed for him, whereat the Officers and ſoldiers aſſiſted, ac-

The funeral honours paid to the Viſcount.

An. 1675. cording to the uſual ceremonies; the Officers with black crape ſcarfs, the drums covered with the ſame, and the ſoldiers with pikes trailing and muskets inverted. Their lamentations accompanied with tears were heard at a great diſtance, and Turenne was mourned for by all the army as a father by his family.

The news of his death alarms all the provinces.

When the news of his death arrived at Court, conſternation and grief were painted upon every face; the tradeſmen of Paris left their work to go and mourn with their neighbours, and the inhabitants of that great city flocked together to enquire news of one another concerning even the leaſt circumſtances of ſo great a misfortune. * Aſtoniſhment and ſorrow ſoon ſpread from the Capital to the moſt diſtant Provinces: the peaſants of Champagne thought themſelves upon the point of being invaded: one of them went and preſſed his landlord to break the leaſe of his farm, giving this for the ſole reaſon, *The great Turenne is dead, and the Germans will come and put us all under contribution.*

The publick honours done the Viſcount.

The King bewailed the death of this great man; he ordered his body to be brought to the Abbey of St. Dennis; and to diſtinguiſh the Viſcount de Turenne from thoſe to whom the ſame honour had been granted, he would have him enterr'd in the Chappel appointed for the burying place of the Kings and the Royal Family. † While his corps was on the way from the banks of the Rhine to Paris, the people ran together in crouds on the road, and watered his coffin with their tears: the inhabitants of the villages, boroughs and towns came out to meet it; thoſe of Langres among others, put on mourning, and paid him extraordinary honours. His body being arrived at Paris, the King cauſed a ſervice to be perform'd at Notredame, at which the

* See Madam de Sevigne's letters, No. 21.
† See the Authorities, No. 22.

Clergy of France who were then aſſembled, the Parliament, the Univerſity, the Magiſtrates and Citizens, in a body aſſiſted. The moſt celebrated preachers vyed with one another in making his Panegyrick: there was no publick diſcourſe pronounc'd all that year, either at the opening of Parliaments, Academies or Univerſities, or on any other ſolemn occaſion wherein his elogium was not made, and the loſs of him lamented. Never was a private man ſo much regretted, becauſe never was any one ſo much reſpected, or ſo tenderly beloved by the people.

The Viſ. de Turenne's character.

After writing the hiſtory of Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne Vicomte de Turenne, it may not be improper to give ſome deſcription of his perſon, and collect into one view the principal parts of his character. He was of a middle ſtature and well proportioned; the ſhape of his face regular, his hair of a cheſnut colour, full eyes, his eye-brows thick and almoſt joined together, his forehead large and his head a little inclining to one ſide, his air modeſt and ſerene but often thoughtful; all which by the mixture of ſeverity and affability formed a countenance not eaſy to be drawn in a picture.

All the Cardinal Virtues were united in the Marſhal de Turenne, and by what has been ſaid there ſeems to be none, of which he did not give examples: his diſintereſtedneſs was ſo much the more praiſeworthy, as covetouſneſs was the reigning vice of the age. His fortune at his death was leſs than the patrimony he had received from his parents, though he had commanded the King's army above thirty years under a bountiful Queen Regent and the moſt magnificent of all Monarchs; and though he lived in an age fruitful in great fortunes. Some of his friends talking with him of thoſe immenſe and ſuddenly acquired fortunes, and rallying him on that occaſion in an agreeable obliging manner: he anſwered, * "I could "never find out what pleaſure there can be in keep-"ing coffers filled with gold and ſilver; were I

* Langlade's Memoirs.

"to

" to have conſiderable ſums remaining at the end " of the year, my ſtomach would turn as much as " if a great repaſt were ſerved up to me immediate- " ly upon my riſing from table. " And indeed there were found at his death only 500 crowns in his ſtrong box. Not content with being liberal, he was ingenious in finding out means to ſpare the objects of his bounty the ſhame of receiving, and in concealing his generoſity under various pretexts, fearing leſt his benefactions being divulged, ſelf-love ſhould diminiſh his virtue.

The love of the publick good was the only rule of his deſires and actions: though his ambition appeared in his younger years, yet firſt his prudence afterwards his piety kept it always within due bounds: he never ſuffered the love of his own glory nor the undoubted ſucceſs of a dazzling enterprize to byaſs him, when a pacifick project could be of more advantage to his country; he always preferred his family to his fortune, and the intereſt of the State to that of his Houſe; but however dear his country was to him, he never to ſerve it either violated the law of nations or the immutable rules of juſtice.

He had from his tender years a predominant love of truth; he deteſted that policy which to ſucceed in its deſigns employs diſſimulation, lying and deceiving: he ſpoke either well or ill of himſelf according as it was neceſſary, the one without vanity, the other without ſhame, and both without affectation, like a man that was become a ſtranger to himſelf. This character runs through all his writings, whether letters, inſtructions or memoirs. His reputation of being ſtrictly faithful to his word was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that moſt of the Princes of Germany treated with him without aſking any guarantee. The Swiſs, Dutch, Engliſh and Swedes thought themſelves ſecure if he had given them a promiſe; he never gave one without being ſure that he was able to perform it, and rather than come under engage-

ments

ments which he was afraid he could not fulfil, he choſe to run the riſk of provoking the Miniſter, diſpleaſing even the King, and ſeeing himſelf deſerted by his troops.

His humanity extended itſelf univerſally to all men; Officers, ſoldiers, domeſticks, even enemies felt the effects of it: he never let ſlip an opportunity of making known the merit and of concealing or excuſing the faults of thoſe who ſerved under him. When an Officer, whoſe capacity he knew, had been beaten at the head of a detachment, the Viſcount himſelf raiſed his courage again by comforting him; he would ſend him on a party with a greater number of troops to take his revenge, and continued to give him new commands till he had gained ſome advantage. He thus formed and ripened the talents of men, and perfected their growing courage which another manner of acting might have rendered abortive.

Never was a Captain ſo tenderly beloved by his troops; he ſeemed to be at the ſame time General of an army and father of a family: one would have thought that his ſoldiers had been his children; by condeſcending to them without debaſing himſelf, being familiar with them without loſing any thing of his dignity, he tied to him by the bands of affection men who are commonly reſtrained by nothing but the fear of puniſhment: a reproof from him was the greateſt chaſtiſement, and his approbation the reward they moſt coveted. There is too frequently in armies a confuſed aſſembly of mercenaries and libertines, cowards and raſh men, who muſt by turns be raiſed or brought under, animated or reſtrained: Turenne's army on the contrary was the model of a perfect republick; the diſtinctions of commanding and obeying were hardly perceptible there; every one knew his duty, and performed it out of a deſire to pleaſe the General, ſhame to be wanting to their common father, and a true love of glory which diffuſed itſelf from the head to the meaneſt

eſt member. He often marched a foot at the head of his ſoldiers, eat of the ſame proviſions with them, ſhared in all their toils, and required nothing of them but what he did himſelf; he never ſuffered them to be idle, knowing that if he did not employ them well, they would employ themſelves ill; but ſtill obſerving a juſt medium between too exceſſive fatigue and too great inaction, he carefully provided for all their wants, contenting himſelf with little, and often refuſing himſelf neceſſaries, either to give them tokens of his bounty, or relieve them when they ſuffered by ſcarcity.

Being no leſs compaſſionate to his domeſticks than to his ſoldiers, he never made them feel the lowneſs of their condition by the caprices of a proud and uneven temper. His lenity and goodneſs which has been ſo often admired on the great theatre of the world did not leſs ſhow themſelves in his family: the more narrowly his actions were looked into the more he was reſpected and beloved. Notwithſtanding his great jealouſy of the prerogatives of his Houſe, he was ſtruck with horror at the monſtrous maxims which the Great have formed to themſelves to authorize their uſurping a tyranny over other men, and deſpiſing them; as if birth, dignities or riches gave any other ſolid advantage than that of being able to do more good: while he made the diſtinctions eſtabliſhed for the preſervation of *civil order* be reſpected, he never forgot that according to *the law of nature* men are really diſtinguiſhed by no other thing than virtue and merit.

* Being accuſtomed to conquer without ambition, he triumphed without pride; he forbad pillaging, preſerved the fruits of the ground, ſpared the enemy's country as much as he could, and made a kind of *ſyſtem of military morality* which was peculiar to himſelf: accordingly the enemy being full of reſpect and affection for him, lamented his death as much as the French themſelves. The Ger-

* See his Funeral Oration by Flechier.

Germans for ſeveral years left untilled the ſpot on which he was killed, and the peaſants ſhowed it as a ſacred place: they reſpected the old tree under which he reſted a little before his death, and would not let it be cut down; nor did it periſh but by ſoldiers of all nations taking away pieces of it out of regard to the memory of that great man.

The Viſcount, according to the idea which he had formed to himſelf of true heroiſm, made it conſiſt in an elevation of ſoul which renders us inacceſſible to the paſſions of others, and gives us an abſolute empire over our own. He ſpent his life without ever having any perſonal quarrel. In the firſt years of his ſervice, he was not always under leaders for whom he had a great eſteem: he had afterwards under him Officers whom he eſteemed as little: he was joined in command with Generals not eaſy to live with on account of their humours and the jealouſie they had of his glory: amidſt ſo many provocations to impatience, he never offended any body, nor ſhewed the leaſt paſſion; nay he let not ſo much as an indiſcreet word eſcape him. Though he had naturally a great ſweetneſs of temper, yet a moderation ſo rare, and practiſed with ſo much conſtancy, could not be the effect of conſtitution alone: if he ſeemed ſometimes to deviate from it, it was only to ſupport the intereſts of the State, againſt the prepoſſeſſions and falſe views of the Miniſter; then without regarding his own intereſts, or thoſe of his Family, he always ſpoke with firmneſs like a good patriot, who was afraid of nothing but being wanting to the cauſe of juſtice and his country.

Sobriety had preſerved his vigour to an advanced age, he looked upon that virtue as a mean equally proper to maintain the ſtrength of the body, and encreaſe that of the mind; he eat little, and his repaſts were very ſhort; by which means he was free and capable to do buſineſs at all times, and became indefatigable both of body and mind.

His

His modeſty was conſpicuous above all his other virtues: this is clearly ſeen in the Memoirs which he has left written with his own hand; he there relates his greateſt actions as ordinary events; he ſeems hardly to have had any part in them, and to have done nothing but what any other man could have done. The *heroic*, the *ſublime* in action, or what the French call *le grand*, was natural and familiar to him; he was always GREAT, and always ſo with eaſe. In converſation he hardly ever ſpoke of himſelf; if he was at any time forced to it, he did it with ſo much reſerve, that he ſeemed ignorant of his own merit and the high idea which others had of it. When he related the battles in which he had not ſucceeded, he always made uſe of this expreſſion; *I loſt:* when he ſpoke of his victories, he always ſaid, *We gained.* The unaffected plainneſs of his manners and dreſs, table and equipage ſufficiently ſpoke his modeſty. He took no other care of his perſon but what cleanlineſs and decency obliged him to: he employed his domeſticks only in neceſſary ſervices, and ſometimes too indulgently diſpenſed with thoſe.

He purified all his virtues by that noble ſolid piety which refers them to God as their ſource and end. In the midſt of the noiſe and tumult of arms, the ſentiments of a Chriſtian, accompany'd, animated and perfected in him thoſe of a hero *. If there be a ſituation where the ſoul full of its ſelf is in danger of forgetting what it owes to the Supreme Being, it is in thoſe ſtations where a General by the prudence of his conduct, the greatneſs of his courage, and the valour of his troops becomes as it were *the God of other men*, and fills the world with love or envy, admiration or terror. Turenne was never more ſenſible of his duty to God than in thoſe moments: at this pitch of glory and greatneſs, religion and humility kept his mind in that ſubmiſſion and dependence which the creature ought to be in with regard to the Creator.

The

* See Father Maſcaron's funeral oration.

The Viſcount's talents were equal to his virtues. * Nature had given him great ſenſe and penetration, juſtneſs and depth of thought, and all ſolid accompliſhments, but had denied him that fire of genius, that livelineſs of imagination, thoſe qualities which conſtitute a ſparkling, entertaining wit; this want of vivacity hindered him from laying hold of objects immediately; but by continued reflection he diſcovered them with greater clearneſs, and comprehended them in all their extent. He ſaw diſtinctly the end he ſhould aim at, he took the neareſt way to it, and without being very fruitful in expedients, never failed to chooſe the beſt. In urgent affairs he determined without heſitating; but when he was not obliged to act, he deliberated a long time. He neither ſaid nor did any thing that was uſeleſs, but forgot nothing that was neceſſary; all his orders were plain and exact, becauſe he had clear conceptions of things, and was never diſcompoſed in dangers.

We have ſeen in the courſe of this Hiſtory, that by his profound reflections he had acquired ſuch an extenſive knowledge in the art of war, that he had calculated even the chances of it and reduced them to rules. He knew how to remedy inconveniencies, improve advantages, accommodate himſelf to times, places and circumſtances, find out expedients when all was thought loſt, let an enterprize ripen with patience, bear with being criticized and blamed rather than diſcover his ſecret, prevent the enemy's deſigns, gueſs what they would do by what they ought to do, and by the characters of thoſe he was to fight with foreſee their different managements. It was thus that he made himſelf maſter of events, and as it were ſubjected them to his ſchemes. Few Generals have poſſeſſed in ſo great perfection all the different parts of war. We have ſeen the art and order of his retreats, and the ſecrecy and quickneſs of his marches. All his motions

* S. Evremont's Elogium.

motions were adjuſted according to the ground, the time and the ſeaſon. The great knowledge he had of the country where he made war, the trouble he took to go in perſon to view the enemy, and the exactneſs of his eye in judging of their ſituation raiſed him above the ableſt Generals in chooſing ground for a camp. It was by this art that with forces very much inferior in number he often check'd the moſt formidable enemies. He always preferred ſmall armies to great, as being more expeditious in their marches, eaſier to be maintained and more manageable in their motions: but when he was at the head of 30,000 men he conducted them with the ſame judgment as when he had but 10,000. In the beginning of an action there was nothing extraordinary to be remarked in him; but as the engagement grew warmer, his air and countenance changed; he appeared more raiſed and animated, ſtill preſerving an entire freedom of mind, which made him judge coolly, provide for all, and take advantage of the leaſt faults committed by the enemy. He ſo well choſe his Ground, that he was ſcarcely ever forced to fight. In drawing up his troops for a battle he ranked the ſoldiers of the different nations according to the knowledge he had of their genius, and regulated the poſts of the Officers rather by their capacity than their precedency. He no leſs excelled in the art of making ſieges; he viewed all with his own eyes, directed the works, viſited them continually, and would have the Officers informed as he was of the moſt minute particulars. He avoided as much as poſſible the taking any place by aſſault, his humanity making him afraid of the outrages which the ſoldiers commit on ſuch occaſions.

Theſe Virtues, ſentiments and talents were the ſource of great actions, which will make the Viſcount de Turenne immortal, and which juſtly gained him the Elogium of having been A MAN WHO WAS AN HONOUR TO MANKIND.

THE END.

INDEX.

A.

AIX la Chapelle, [peace of] Page 353.
Alliance [triple] between England, Holland and Sweden, 352.
Altenheim, [battle of] 487.
Anne of Auſtria Queen Regent, her character, 151. She ſends to ſound the Viſcount's diſpoſition in the firſt wars of Paris, 162. Her death, 345.
Arras [the city of] beſieged by the Spaniards, 260. The Viſcount throws ſuccours into it, 261. Deſcription of the lines of the Spaniards round that place, 265. Attack of the lines, 269.
Auſburg beſieged by the Viſcount, 125.

B.

Bavaria [Maximilian Duke of] endeavours to hinder the allies from joining, 121. Quits his Capital, and retires to the Archbiſhop of Saltzbourg, 143.
Bergues [town of] taken by the Viſcount, 317.
Bleneau [action of] 206.
Bois-le-Duc beſieged in 1629. 11. Is taken, 13.
Bouillon [Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, 1ſt Duke of] his character, 1.
Bouillon [Frederic Maurice, Duke of] quits the ſervice of Holland and turns Catholick, 19. Receives the Count de Soiſſons at Sedan, 56, and the Duke of Guiſe, 58. Makes a treaty with Spain and the Empire, *ibid.* Submits himſelf to the King, 61. Is engaged in the affair of Cinqmars, 64. Goes to command in Italy, 65. Is taken at Cazal, and conducted to Pierre en Cize, 68. Is ſet at liberty, and yields up Sedan to the King, 69. Returns to Court, 73. Afterwards leaves France, and goes to Rome, 74. The Pope treats him as a Sovereign Prince, *ibid.* Declares for the Princes, 176. His death and character, 233.
Bourdeaux [beſieged] 180. Pardon and peace granted to the Bourdelois, 182.
Bournonville [the Duke of] joins his troops to thoſe of the Duke of Lorrain and Count Caprara, 426.
Brandenbourg [the Elector of] declares for the Dutch, 365. Joins his troops with thoſe of the Emperor, 393. Is obliged

to retire into Weſtphalia, 396. Withdraws into his own territories, 402. Makes peace with France, 404. Breaks his treaty with her, and joins his troops to thoſe of the Imperialiſts, 446.
Breda [Peace of] 346.
Briſac beſieged by the Duke of Weymar, 39. Taken, 42.

C.

Cambray relieved by the Prince of Condé, 297.
Cazal relieved by the French, 48.
Charles IV. [Duke of Lorrain] his diſpoſition in 1635. 17. Goes to the relief of Briſac, 40. Declares for the Prince of Condé, enters France, and incamps at Villeneuve St. George, 217. Signs a treaty with the Viſcount, 219. Breaks his treaty with the King, and comes a ſecond time into France, 236. He and the Prince of Condé endeavour to ſhut up the Viſcount in his camp, 238. Is impriſoned by the Spaniards, 259.
Cinqmars [Marquis of] enters into a conſpiracy with the Spaniards againſt the State, 62. Gains over to him the Preſident de Thou, 63. Tries to draw in the Duke of Bouillon, 64. Is impriſoned, 67. Is beheaded, 68
Condé the Great. See Enguien and Louis de Bourbon.
Condé [the Princeſs of] goes to Bourdeaux, 177.
Conty [the Prince of] is reſtored to the King's favour, 259.

D.

Dixmuyde [Town of] taken by the Viſcount, 319.
Don John of Auſtria arrives in Flanders, to command there, 285.
Downs [Sand-hills about Dunkirk] (the battle of the) 313.
Dunkirk beſieged, 303. Taken, 316. Sold to the King by the Engliſh, 338.

E.

Empire, its political State at the time of the rupture between the two Crowns, 21.
England declares war againſt the Dutch, 343. Departs from the triple alliance, 362.
Enguien [Duke of] goes and rejoins the Viſcount de Turenne near Friburg, 79. Returns into France, and leaves the Viſcount to command in Germany, 95. Comes a ſecond time into Germany, 105. Croſſes the Neckar, and takes Wimſew, 106. Draws near Nortlingen, 107. Returns into France after the battle of Nortlingen, 113.

Enſheim

Enſheim [battle of] p. 439, to p. 444.
Eſtampes beſieged, 214.
Europe, the State of it in general, with reſpect to the wars of Religion, 6.

F.

Ferdinand II. Emperor dies, 35.
Ferdinand III. is elected, *ibid.*
France [the ſtate of] under Louis XIII. 14. Its alliance with the Princes of Italy in 1635. 26. Rupture between France and Spain, 27. Its condition after the peace of Weſtphalia, 150. Riſe of the civil wars of the Fronde, 155. Impriſonment of the Chiefs and firſt inſurrection of the People, 156. An enumeration of the heads of the Frondeurs, 158.
Franche Comte conquered by the King, 352.
Fribourg, Turenne marches to the Relief of it, 78. Firſt fight, 82. Second fight, 85. Third fight, 87.
Fronde [the war of] ſee France.

G.

Galas [Count of] raiſes the ſiege of Mentz, 29. Purſues the Confederates, 30. Enters Burgundy and inveſts S. John de Lône, 33 and 34.
Gaſton Duke of Orleans treats with Spain, 65. Reveals the treaty, 68. His character, 152. Raiſes troops and declares againſt the Court, 200. Submits himſelf to the King, 296.
Gergeau [action at Gergeau bridge] 201.
Grandpré [afterwards Marſhal de Joyeuſe] excuſed by the Viſcount in a moſt generous manner, 293.
Guebriant [Marſhal of] takes on him the command of the Weymarian troops, 43.

H.

Harcourt [Count of] goes to command in Italy, 46. Relieves Caſal, 48. Takes Turin, 53. Puts a ſtop to the Prince of Condé's Victories, 198.
Hocquincourt [Marſhal] his wrong conduct at Eſtampes, 203. His traiterous behaviour, 281. His death at the battle of the Downs, 309.
Holland, condition of that Republick when firſt the Viſcount went to ſerve there, 7. Its alliance with France in 1635, 26. Its circumſtances before the wars with the King in 1672. 359. Makes all poſſible preparations for war againſt France, 370. Is evacuated by the King's troops, 412.

L.

Leopold [Archduke] joins the Bavarians at the head of the Imperial troops, 114. Separates from them, 115. Returns to the relief of the Bavarians, 126. The Viſcount cuts off his proviſions, 127.

Liſle beſieged and taken by the King, 350.
Lorrain invaded in 1630. 17. Again invaded, 363.
Louis XIII. makes the conqueſt of Rouſſillon, 61. He dies, 70.
Louis XIV. falls ſick at Calais, 319. His marriage, 332. Prepares to make war on the Spaniards, 347. Motives of this war, *ibid.* Takes ſeveral towns, 348. Seizes upon Lorrain, 363. Makes an alliance with the Elector of Cologne and Biſhop of Munſter, *ibid.* Treats with the Emperor and Sweden, 364. Declares War againſt the Dutch, 370. Takes Weſel, Buric, Orſoy and Rhimberg, 373. Returns to Paris with the Duke of Orleans, 390. Poſſeſſes himſelf of Franche-Comté, 416.
Louis de Bourbon Prince of Condé, his character, 152. He declares for the Court againſt the Frondeurs, 160. Origin of the miſunderſtandings between him and Mazarin, 167. His impriſonment, 168. His enlargement, 190. Motives which engage him to break again with the Court, 195. Sets out for Bourdeax, and renews the civil wars, 197. Quits Guienne and arrives in the camp of the rebels near Montargis, 202. Surprizes the quarters of Marſhal d'Hocquincourt at Bleneau, 203. Intrenches himſelf in the Fauxbourg of S. Antoine, 223. Enters France at the head of thirty thouſand Spaniards, 251. Beſieges Rocroy, 256. Treats with the Spaniards, 258. and ſuccours Cambrai, 297.
Louis Elector Palatin, his letter to the Viſcount, 428.
Louvois, a reconciliation between him and the Viſcount, 464.

M.

Maeſtricht beſieged and taken by the King, 405.
Mariendal [battle of] 101.
Marpheé [battle of] 59.
Maubeuge beſieged by the Cardinal Infant, 37. Relieved by the Viſcount de Turenne, *ibid.*
Mentz ſupplied with proviſions by the French and Swedes, 29.
Mazarin [Cardinal] his character, 153. His letter to the Viſcount, 162. The Viſcount's anſwer, 164. Leaves France and retires to Brule, 191. Comes back to France, 200. Quits the Kingdom a ſecond time and retires to Bouillon, 235. Returns to Court, 244. His death, 338.
Merci [General] ſurprizes the Viſcount at Mariendal, 100. Is killed at the battle of Nortlingen, 110.
Montecuculli retires before the Viſcount, 407. Wins over to him the Biſhop of Wurtzbourg, 408. Again decamps to avoid the Viſcount, 409. His character and that of the Viſcount compared, 469. His different encampments, marches and countermarches in 1675, p. 473, &c.
La Motte [Caſtle of] beſieged, 17.
Mouſon beſieged by the Viſcount, 257.

Mulhauſen [battle of] 456.
Munſter, Preparations for that congreſs, 77. Negotiation and perplexities of that congreſs, 118. Pretenſions of the Electors of Brandenbourg and Bavaria, 118, 119. Pretenſions of France and Spain, 119. General Plan of the Congreſs, 120. Motives which ingaged the different powers to make peace, 146. Principal articles of the peace of Weſtphalia, *ibid.*

N.

Naerden taken by the Prince of Orange, 406.
Nimeguen beſieged and taken, 383.
Nortlingen, [battle of] 108.

O.

Orange [Prince of] ſee William III.
Oudenarde taken by the Viſcount, 322.
Oxenſtiern, Chancellor, his character, 25. Comes into France, *ibid.*

P.

Paris [blockade of that city] 262. Opens its gates to the Prince of Condé, 229. A maſſacre committed at the Hôtel de Ville, 230.
Perpignan [city of] beſieged by the French and taken, 62.
Philip King of Spain [the death of] 344.
Philipſbourg [the ſiege of] 89.
Portugal, its wars with Spain after the peace of the Pyrenees, 333.
Pyrenees [Peace of the] 328, *&c.*

R.

Retz [Cardinal of] his character, 154. Gets together and encourages the heads of the Frondeurs, 158. Is impriſoned at Vincennes 248. Eſcapes from priſon and goes into Italy, 274.
Richelieu, [Cardinal of] the general plan of his political views 19. His Union with Weymar and Chancellor Oxenſtiern, 24. his jealouſy of the Duke of Weymar, 43. He diſcovers the treaty of the Duke of Orleans and Weymar's with Spain, 66. His death and character, 70.
Rhetel [ſiege of] 183. Battle of, 187.
Rhine [paſſage of the] 377.
Rochefoucault [Duke of] declares for the Princes, 176. His pardon granted, 182.
Roſen [Major General] his error at the battle of Mariendal, 100. Hinders the Weymarian troops from going into Flanders, 130. is made priſoner by the Viſcount, and ſent to Philipsbourg, 135.
Ruel [Peace of] 165.

S.

Saverne beſieged by the Duke of Weymar and the Cardinal de la Valette in 1636. 32.
Savoy, Riſe of the wars in that country, 44.

Schomberg [Count de] goes to command in Portugal, 337.
Sintzheim [battle of] 422, *&c.*
Soiſſons [Count of] retires to Sedan, 56. His death, 60.
Spain, its political ſtate at the rupture between the two Crowns in 1635, 20.
Spaniards come to the aid of the Prince of Condé with an army of 20000 men, 231. Endeavour to ſurprize Calais, 299. beſiege Ardres, 301.
Stenay beſieged by the French, 260.
Saint Antoine [battle of] 224. Deſperate rage of the ſoldiers againſt each other at that battle, 226. The Pariſians open their Gates to the Prince of Condé's troops, 229.
Swedes [the army of] Separate itſelf from that of the King, 106.

T.

Turenne [Henry Viſcount de] His birth, p. 1. His Education, 3. The firſt token of his martial diſpoſition, *ibid.* His Studies, *ibid.* His exerciſes, 5. His journey into Holland, 6. Serves as a volunteer, 8. Is made a Captain of foot, 9. Enters into the ſervice of France and is made a Colonel, 14. Is raiſed to be a Major General, 17. His conduct in the famous retreat at Mentz, 31. Takes the caſtle of Solre, and gives a remarkable proof of his continence, 36. Is made a Lieutenant-General, and goes to the ſiege of Briſac, 39. Is made a Marſhal of France, 71. His thoughts of his four Maſters in the military art, *ibid.* Goes to command in Germany, 74. His generoſity to d'Erlac Governor of Briſac, 76. Marches to the relief of Friburg, 78. Wormes, Oppenheim and Mentz ſurrender to him, 93. Takes Landau, 94. Saves Spires, and ſeizes on the caſtle of Creutznac, 96. Paſſes the Rhine and Neckar, purſues General Merci, 97. Advances into Franconia, and takes up his quarters at Mariendal, 98. His fine retreat after the defeat at Mariendal, 102. His conduct cenſur'd. His juſtification, 103. Gains the battle of Nortlingen, 110. Reinſtates the Elector of Triers, 116. returns to Court, 117. Mazarin offers him the Duchy of Chateau Thierry, but he declines it, *ibid.* Joins the Swediſh troops after a long and laborious march, 122. Beſieges Auſburg, 125. Is ordered to quit Germany and march into Flanders, 128. Purſues the Weymarians (who had refuſed to follow him into Flanders) to the banks of the Rhine, 131. Brings them back to their duty, 132, *&c.* Goes into the Duchy of Luxembourg, 136. Marches back his troops into Germany, 137. His letter to the Duke of Bavaria, 138. The Duke's anſwer, *ibid.* Joins the Swediſh troops, 139. Defeats Melander and Montecuculli, 140. Makes an irruption into Bavaria, 142. His conduct during the Negotiations of Weſtphalia, and the wars in Germany, 148. Declares

clares his intentions to the army during the wars of the Fronde, 164. Retires into Holland, 165. Returns to Paris, 166. Retires to Stenay with the Ducheſs of Longueville, 170. Aſſembles troops to deliver the Princes, *ibid.* Treats with the Spaniards, 171. Writes to the Queen, 172. Puts himſelf at the head of the Spaniards, and beſieges le Catelet and Guiſe, 174. Beſieges and takes Mouſon. 176. His retreat after the loſs of the battle of Rhetel, 188. His remarkable diſintereſtedneſs, *ibid.* Labours to make a peace between the two Crowns, 192. Returns to Court and obtains his pardon, 194. Refuſes to enter into the Prince of Condé's new Schemes, 197. Puts himſelf at the head of the Royal Troops, 200. Saves the King's affairs from ruin by his conduct at Gergeau-bridge, 201. Does the ſame near Gien, 206. Leads the King's army to Châtres, 208. Marches towards Eſtampes, 210. Attacks and carries the ſuburb of it, 211. Beſieges Eſtampes, 214. Raiſes the ſiege, 217. Marches againſt the Duke of Lorrain, obliges him to quit France, 219. Prevails on the Court not to retire to Lyons, 232. Drives the Spaniards out of France, 233. Diſappoints the hopes of the Prince of Condé and of the Duke of Lorrain, 339. Brings back the King to Paris, 342. Purſues the Prince of Condé and obliges him to depart the kingdom, 245. Beſieges and takes Bar-le-Duc, 246. Takes Chateau, Porcien and Vervins, 248. The Viſcount marries, 249. His famous encampment hard by Peronne, 253. His uſual conduct at ſieges, 258. Marches to the relief of Arras, and encamps at Mouchy le Preux, 261. Viſits the lines of the Spaniards, 265. Attacks the lines, and forces the Spaniards to raiſe the ſiege, 269. Takes Quenoy and Binches, 273. Prevents a freſh rupture between the Court and the Parliament, 274. Takes Landrecies, 275. Perſonal miſunderſtanding between him and the Prince of Condé, 279. Takes Condé and S. Guiſlain, 280. Inveſts Valenciennes, 286. His glorious retreat after the overthrow at Valenciennes, 290. Takes la Capelle and ſuccours S. Guiſlain, 294 and 295. Is made Colonel General of the cavalry, 296. Attempts to ſurprize Cambrai, but is hinder'd by the Prince of Condé's great expedition, 297. Takes S. Venant, relieves Arras, and beſieges Mardike, 302. Defeats the Spaniards in the battle of the Downs, 312. Takes Bergues, Dixmuyde and Gravelin, 317, *&c.* Surprizes and defeats the Prince de Ligne near Ypres 323. Takes Menin, Ypres, Gramont and Ninove, 324 and 325. Forms a deſign for the Reſtoration of the King of England, 330, *&c.* Is made Marſhal General of the King's camps and armies, 332. The King leaves to him the management of the affair of Por-

tugal. 339. He enters into a correſpondence with the Grand Penſioner de Witt, 340. Propoſes a match between the Princeſs de Montpenſier and the King of Portugal, *ibid.* Continues to procure aſſiſtance for the Portugueſe, 341. Embraces the Roman Catholic Religion, 354. His private life, 356, *&c.* Contracts an intimacy with Henrietta of England Ducheſs of Orleans. Falls in love with a Lady the Ducheſs's favourite, and reveals the King's ſecret to her. 360. Takes Maſſeick, 372. Takes the town and fort of Rees, 375. Takes ſeveral towns and forts in Holland, 380, *&c.* Marches againſt the Elector of Brandenbourg, 392. Takes ſeveral towns in Weſtphalia, and drives the enemy from thence 399, *&c.* Marches to Sintzheim, 417. Defeats the enemy there, 422. Receives a challenge from the Elector Palatin, 428. His anſwer, 430. Gains the battle of Enſheim, 441. His fine ſtratagem to drive the Imperialiſts out of Alſace, and make them repaſs the Rhine, 454. Marches to Turkheim, and defeats the Imperialiſts there, 459, *&c.* Returns to Court, 462. Is for retiring from the World, 464. Marches againſt Montecuculli, 465. His character compared with that of Montecuculli, 469. His different encampments, marches and countermarches againſt Montecuculli, 470, *&c.* His death, 484. The grief and conſternation of the army on occaſion of his death, 485. Funeral honours paid him, 487. Publick lamentations, 488. The Viſcount's character, 489.

Turenne [Viſcounteſs of] her death, 345.

Turin beſieged by the French, 50, and taken, 53.

Turkheim [action of] 460.

V.

Valette [Cardinal de la] goes to the aſſiſtance of the Swedes in Germany, 28. Beſieges Saverne, 32. Commands in Piedmont, 45.

Valenciennes inveſted by the French, 286. The Spaniards force them to raiſe the ſiege, 288.

Vert [John de] enters Picardy to ravage it, and marches towards Paris, 33.

W.

Weſtphalia, ſee Munſter.

Weymarians refuſe to go into Flanders, and revolt againſt the Viſcount, 130.

Weymar [Bernard Duke of] his character, 24. His firſt treaty with France, *ibid.* His ſecond treaty with France, 32. Beſieges the foreſt towns, and blocks up Brizac, 38. His death and character, 43.

William III. Prince of Orange is declared Captain General and High Admiral of the Republick of Holland, 369. Is declared Stadtholder, 385. Beſieges and takes Bonn, 412.
Wittemvir [action of] 39.
Witts [de] the two brothers maſſacred. 391.

Y.

York [the Duke of] arrives in the Viſcount's Camp, in 1652. 213. Leaves France, 283.
Ypres taken by the Viſcount, 324.
Yvrée beſieged, 54.

Z.

Zuſmarhauſen [action of] 141.

The End of the Table.

ERRATA.

PAge 2. *line* 12. *for* being *read* having been. *p.* 11. in the Margin *r.* Pucelle. *p.* 44. *l.* 22. ingeniouſly, *r.* ingenuouſly. *p.* 81. *l.* 32. their entrance *r.* this entrance. *p.* 102. *l.* 5. *r.* Smitberg. *p.* 136. *l.* 23. *r.* into the Province of Luxembourg. *p.* 189. *l.* 18. long in the ſervice *r.* long a General. *p.* 217. *l.* 9. them *r* it. *ibid.* in the margin *r. from* Etampes. *p.* 247. *l.* 21. crowded with veſſels of wine *r.* abounded with wine. *l.* 23. even for *r.* prevail with. *l.* 27. were *r.* was. *p.* 313. in the margin, defence *r.* defeat. *p.* 333. in the margin *r.* Marſhal General.